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PRINCE CHARLES AT 40

STRAIGHT TO THE HEART

It began as a routine election campaign. Then, Brian Mulroney, John Turner and Ed Broadbent faced off in a pivotal TV debate. Suddenly, Free Trade became one of the most emotional issues ever to confront Canadians. Now, the nation is about to decide its future.



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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 14, 1986 VOL. 101 NO. 47

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CANADA/COVER

STRAIGHT TO THE HEART

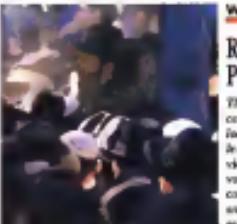
Bitter exchanges over the merits of the free trade agreement with the United States overwhelmed other issues on the election campaign entered a harsher phase. Canadians faced the task of weighing the agreement's costs and benefits. But politicians resorted to emotional appeals and personal attacks as fact fought fear for the hearts and minds of the voters. —12



SPECIAL REPORT

CHARLES III—IN WAITING

As he approaches his 30th birthday next week, Prince Charles seems to have emerged with a new confidence and new public respect. British author Anthony Holden chronicles the fortunes of the often-maligned Prince of Wales in excerpts from his new book, *Charles*. —38



WORLD

RELIGIOUS POWER PLAY

The right-wing Likud bloc and the centre-left Labor Party deadlocked in the Israeli election. Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir—interviewed by Maclean's after the vote—was negotiating to form a coalition government with the small, but increasingly powerful, religious parties. —24

LETTERS

'OUTRAGIOUS RED HERRING'

Your article on the Reichmann family ("Big dollar battle," Cine, Oct. 24) appeared objective and the comparison between Canada and U.S. law less. The content described, including the statement "public figures in the United States are given less protection from libel," is misleading. This is a Canadian libel case involving Canadian publications and a Canadian family. The relevant laws that the Reichmanns would be accorded less protection in a different country, is view of the libel laws of that country, is an outrage.

Adam De Neve,
Associate B.C.



Paul Reichmann; Edith Jones

able instrument were seen as disgusting, disturbing and the epitome of bad taste by myself and those who attended the movie with me.

Diane Anderson
Barrie, Ont., Alta.

DIFFERENT HEAPS

The short article ("A message on the media," Oct. 24) opening Notes, Oct. 10, touring the biodegradability of some polyethylenes is seriously flawed. It leaves the reader with the mistaken impression that all we have to do is mix starch and vegetable oil into all polyethylenes and, poof! all our plastic waste problems disappear in 45 days. While you may have made a true statement about one type of polyethylene under one set of very improbable conditions, the more realistic truth is that numerous varieties and most other forms of plastic waste end up in municipal landfills, which are quite a radically different heap than your compost heap. Conditions such as soil content, bacteria and moisture, which play a vital role in biodegradability, are not present in municipal garbage dumps. I submit that your biodegradable plastic magazine wrappers will still be very much alive long after their 45-day death sentence.

Peter Nal
Ardmore, Alta.

In your interesting feature on the Reichmann family, you omitted a rather amazing fact. One translation of the German name Reichmann is "rich man."

Alvin Ngai
Vancouver

THE CLOTHES MAKE THE MAN?

I wish to draw attention to the photo portraits of the three federal party leaders in your CanadaFocus of Oct. 10 profiling the current election campaign. Two sets of photos are included of each leader: why do we see fit to present Ed Broadbent as a man unable to afford a suit? Is this consistent with his "ordinary Canadian" image? I have to wonder if it isn't Macdonald's way of "fitting on him" this isn't a serious contender for the office of prime minister.

Jean-Pierre Forget,
Gatineau, Que.

PASSAGES

OBITUARY: Actor, director and producer John Huston, 86, whose portrayal of Charles Keating, the crusty law professor in the 1973 movie *The Paper Chase*, won him an Oscar at 71, of spinal cancer at his home in Malibu, Calif. Born in Missouri, Huston worked as a grain broker in Atlanta, Arkansas and Canada—Winnipeg and Vancouver—before moving to the United States in 1934. He turned to the theatre after losing his business in the Depression. An early success was as co-producer with Orson Welles of *The War of the Worlds*, the realistic 1938 radio program about a massive invasion. His final role was the father of the lead character in the current movie, *Another Woman*.



man's post, the federal government also announced that Joyce Zemanek, 48, will take over day-to-day operations to the council's new director. As art historian, Zemanek was dean of fine arts at Toronto's York University.

RESIGNATION: Conductor Zubin Mehta, 62, an music director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, effective at the expiry of his contract in 1991. The Brooklyn-born Mehta was music director of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra from 1985 to 1997.

DEATH: Award-winning painter Alfred Pellan, 82, who has died in the Montreal suburb of Laval. In 1960, the Quebec City-born painter became the first Canadian to have a solo exhibit at Paris's renowned Musée national d'art moderne.

STRIKING OUT ON FACTS

As the wife of a Bell Canada employee, I was shocked to read "Silent photos" (National News, Sept. 26). What have you people heard? We work at the time earning our 14th week of legal strike, and you have an act for only eight weeks. Come on—wake up and show your support by reporting the correct facts.

Cindy Laliberte
Kingsville, Ont.

OFFENSIVE VIEWING

In your article and review of David Cronenberg's film *Dead Ringers* ("A dead show-off" and "Nightmares and double vision," Film, Sept. 19), you neglect to warn readers that same scenes could be extremely offensive to viewers, especially women. Indeed, in three different reviews of this film printed recently, critics tout it as being badly directed, but bland.

Tis the season to make a good impression.

LETTERS

DECISIONS, NOT FORTUNES

I really object to your article "Reform or stagnation?" (Canada, Oct. 24), where you refer to the outcome of the elections as something to "make or break political fortunes." That is not what our elections are supposed to be about. Unfortunately, they seem to have degenerated into a spectator sport where individuals back a candidate to ensure the same way they back sports' contestants. We are not watching to see who will succeed but because those no one's will. We are watching to see who will make the decisions. That's not a fortunate position for anyone to be in.

Sandra Stoylenko,
St-Jean-de-Bellevue, Que.

PERVASIVE PROBLEMS

Your article "Defending the Amazon" (Observations, Sept. 19) detailed the plight of the indigenous peoples of Brazil at the time of widespread hydroelectric development. The comments that various dams "have been built with little regard for the native people" and that "Indians were forcibly relocated and thousands of acres of virgin forest were flooded" ring true in Canada as much as it does in Brazil. Is nothing to construct these hydro-



Courtesy of the Canadian Press

Maloney decharting: spectre sport

was a very powerful military force capable of taking over the Pacific Coast was very British, with a small population, a large coastline and little military strength with which to defend it. Our Japanese population were relatively recent immigrants with close family ties to Japan. At that time, moving them inland was the correct thing to do. The sad truth now is that the apology and settlement from Ottawa are obviously not a matter of righting a wrong but of political expediency before an election.

Albert Scott
Li River, Sask.

A RAZOR OF TRUTH

After Petherberg's "Quelling of the pro-people of Dar" (Colombia, Oct. 20) is a most terrible name of truth and wit from a writer who, in my opinion, deserves a special award. His Quayle rewards us of a younger John Turner a blunder ready and waiting to perform.

Mosheles Jit,
Toronto

THE CORRECT THING'

R Regarding "Measures of shame" (Canada, Oct. 25, in 2042, Japan and Canada were far different countries than they are now. Japan

I am a great admirer of Alisa Petherberg and never miss his column. However, he slipped up in his article on Das Kapital Lincoln was not succeeded by Andrew Jackson, but by Andrew Johnson, who served one term. He was impeached and removed from office by one vote. Andrew Jackson (Old Hickory) was born almost a century earlier (1767). He

served as a boy in the Revolutionary War and as a general in the War of 1812. He became the seventh president of the United States in 1829.

Alastair Knott
Winnipeg

REDUCED DEFICIT

Peter C. Newman writes that "Twenty years of Liberal rule left the national treasury \$16 billion in the hole, and the debt has been only slightly reduced by Mulroney." ("A watershed in the polls," Canada, Oct. 19) What was slightly reduced by Mulroney, was not the debt but the budgetary deficit, which is the amount by which the national debt increased each year. The national debt has continued to increase every year.

Barbara Roseman,
Ottawa

RELIGIOUS RELICS

Millions of pilgrims have not "payed to lift the shroud of Tarns," as you write in "Lifting the veil" (Georgia, Oct. 24). Christians never pray to relics or support relics, but believe them. Relics are observed, preserved and respectfully displayed because of their associations, as are any great historical figure's books, clothing, house or other possessions. The effect of being in the presence of the

relic is conducive to prayer that is directed to God and His saints, not to the object. If all historically or religiously venerated objects disappeared or proved fraudulent, the persons with whom they were associated would still be remembered, honored or mourned.

Barbara Sophie,
Regina

CANADA'S BACK DOOR

Regarding the last in Business Watch is the article concerning the Bank of Tarns was interesting in a historical sense, but on the final analysis—no shield U gas an atheist mold assessment seems at the thought of all these past ignorant programs paying to a deep pocket of cloth! A sort of justifies your aristotle, does it not?

Rank Baker,
Edmonton

MOURNING A LOSS

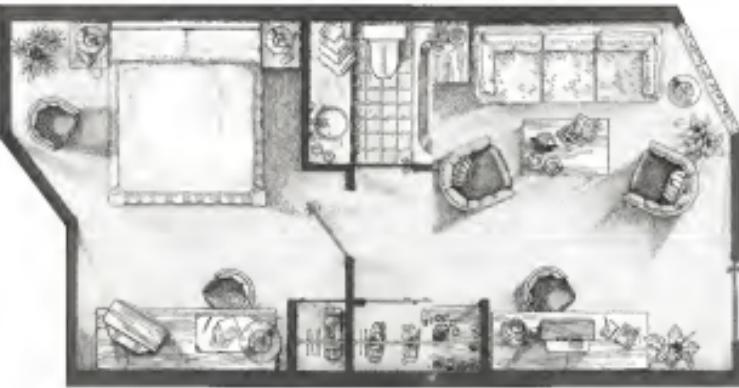
Following Peter C. Newman's article on the evolution of Canada's Liberal party ("The catalysts fueling national party," Business Watch, Oct. 26), I can only compare the loss of critical, informative journalism. If Newman had elaborated upon "the main reason the Liberals have plummeted to last place," rather than with a featherlight quotation referring to "what is good and what is beautiful," and had outlined the principles upon which Considine-Morin was founded, we might have a better-educated public with a basis on which to

LIBERAL PORTIONS

Sept. 18's Letters discuss almost half the spectrum from to protectors by John Turner and Warren Chippendale about alleged previous use of campaign funds, although that topic is prominently covered in the major article "Taxes under fire" (Canada) a few pages later. That is crucial, assuming Morin's is not trying to look like a Liberal house organ.

Stanley Reduska,
Markham, Ont.

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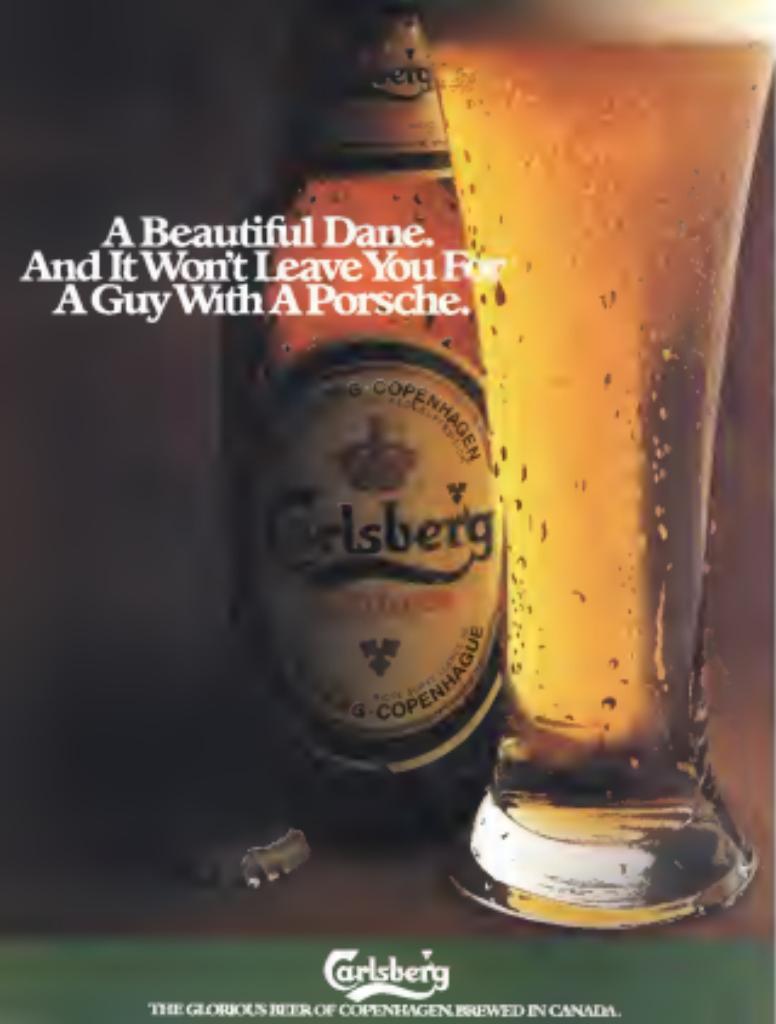
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THE GLORIOUS BEER OF COPENHAGEN BREWED IN CANADA.

A HALIGONIAN HERO

Canada won 16 medals in the Olympics. It doesn't mean, so we should remember them all. One of the finest representatives of those winners, both in character and sportsmanship, was Halifax's Brian MacLean. In my article "A golden end to the Games" (Olympics, Oct. 20), you ignored him entirely. Fortunately, Haligonians have not. He has done us proud.

Jeddy MacLean,
Halifax

'NORMAL' MEN

Your article "Rape on campus" (Behavior, Oct. 31) touches on an important but often-overlooked point. Rapists are not usually deeply disturbed misogynists on the rampage, at least as often portrayed. Most often they are acquaintances such as the fraternity members you described. The sooner people acknowledge that most rapists are supposedly "normal" men, the sooner steps can be taken to prevent their reprehensible behavior.

Kersten MacLeod,
Toronto

A DUBIOUS MATTER

Peter Neeman, in your Oct. 17 issue, describes Brian Mulroney's promise to reduce the deficit to \$3 billion by 1990 as "dubious," "frightening," "pessimistic" and "credibility." (Business World) Surely Neeman agrees with the target, and it is achieving it which he feels is dubious?

John Lynch-Staunton,
Montreal

FULL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY

I read Allen Petherham's Oct. 10 column with distaste ("The Johnson saga in perspective," Column). His comments regarding drug use in sport and hegemony in government are, sadly, all too likely to be true. However, his assertion that Canadian national sports teams have been built "at the expense of reported talent" is both ill-conceived and unjust. Many Canadians were born in other lands, immigrated and found in Canada the opportunities they required to fully express their talents. Ted Johnson and other Canadian athletes may be immigrants, but they chose to live here and are now full participants in our society. It is clear right to represent Canada, just as it would be Mr. Petherham's. To suggest immigrants are not good representatives of Canada diminishes their contributions to our nation.

D. Marti Smith,
Edmonton

Letters are closed and may be censored. Writers should include a return address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to Letters to Editors, *Maclean's Magazine*, 160 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Ontario K2B 5J2. Tel: 613-237-2811.



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OPENING NOTES

Ben Johnson makes a hasty exit, Thomas McMillan strikes back and James Michener's threat to vote with his feet

A RUNNER'S EXIT

Ben Johnson's face has largely disappeared from the evening news, but his story is far from forgotten. On Oct. 30, five weeks after being stripped of his Olympic gold medal, the sprinter ventured into Stanhope's Bar, a popular Toronto night spot, and immediately became the centre of attention. Throughout the bar, wags joked about Johnson's use of muscle steroids, and immediately became the centre of attention. Throughout the bar, wags joked about Johnson's use of muscle steroids, and immediately became the centre of attention. Throughout the bar, wags joked about Johnson's use of muscle steroids, and immediately became the centre of attention. Throughout the bar, wags joked about Johnson's use of muscle steroids, and immediately became the centre of attention.

Johnson: a brash confrontation in a bar



A story waiting to be told

During a 12-year professional fighting career, George Chuvalo lost to such boxing greats as Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier—but no one ever knocked him out. Now, Toronto apartment-owner Stephen Great says that the former Canadian heavyweight champion is still skilled at stamping on his feet outside the ring. Great told Marlene Vitol that for the past two years, he and Chuvalo had discussed collaborating on the boxer's biography. Indeed, Dennis Schles, an editorial director for publisher McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., said that "there were 99 per cent to place when Chuvalo sold his organization." Deirdre Brundin, "A lot of boxers are paranoid about people taking advantage of them." To the pair, Chuvalo has disclosed his



autobiography with other writers—with one result: Chuvalo always been wary of contact at close quarters.

Breakfast for champions

For the past decade, supermarkets have reflected the growing health-consciousness in North America. Now, Rosemary Farms Co. of California has developed a remarkable product: light eggs. After eating an all-natural chicken feed, their hens are hatching eggs with half the traditional cholesterol content. Last month, Californians bought more than one million light eggs. Still, Rosemary Farms has put only a third of its hens on the new diet. The fed will have to become more entrenched before the firm pats off all its eggs in one basket.

Busy signals on the Rock

It's the talk of the province. Last week, Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Co. Ltd. announced that the citizens of Newfoundland make more phone calls than residents of any other province. On average, Newfoundlanders make more than 3,000 calls apiece each year, surpassing Nova Scotians, who stand in second place, by some 80 per cent. According to the announcement, the most patriotic Canadians live in St. John's. A Maritime company spokesman offered a simple explanation for Newfoundland's newfound fame: "Quite frankly, we're a talkative bunch. We love to chat."

At any price, it seems



McMillan: May accusations against a former adviser



BURNING THEIR BRIDGES

When Elizabeth May left her job last June, the former policy adviser to Environment Minister Thomas McMillan assumed that she would not burn any bridges. But while the quixotic May pursued McMillan's former record, she also claimed that the country had granted a licence for Saskatchewan's Refinery Gas project as a result of a political deal—without fully exploring the environmental consequences. Last week, May announced on CBC Radio's *Judith More*, in Charlottetown, that she had disagreed

bitterly with the minister over the need for a bridge linking Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. McMillan, who is from the Islands, fought back, telling Charlottetown's *The Evening Telegram* that May's department had "nothing to do with policy." McMillan added that May had promised to "make his difficult" because he did not provide her with a "very rich universe package." May told *Maclean's* that she considered McMillan's comments to be "pathetic." The minister and May now have several differences to bridge.

A northern foxiness

James A. Michener, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of such weighty best-sellers as *Hawaii* and *Pakana*, has



MESSAGES ON THE WASHROOM WALL

Canadian novelists have already accepted—however grudgingly—a barrage of commercials before their feature-length entertainment. Now, Toronto businessman Mark Solomon is planning to capitalize on another previously commercial-free arena: theatre washrooms. Solomon's company, In-Staff Ads, already has contracts to place ads on rest room walls and the inside doors of washroom cubicles in 25 commercial establishments. By January, he expects to expand his client list to at least 100—including movie theatres across the country. Andrew Laffey, the chief operating officer for Mr. Greenpepper restaurants, said in Toronto that customer reaction to the ads—which cost as much as \$350 per month—has been overwhelmingly positive. Bathroom reading with a twist!



Reading smoke signals

In her 1986 autobiography, Elizabeth Taylor proudly recounted that she had lost 60 lbs. and conquered her addiction to drugs and alcohol. In telling her story, the actress became an inspiration to millions. But in early August, *The Washington Post* reported that Taylor had been seen in a wheelchair at London's Heathrow Airport. When spokesman for the 58-year-old actress denied that she suffered at the airport, the Post printed a retraction. Two weeks ago, Elizabeth Taylor A Celebration appeared in bookstores, translating Taylor's philosophy of "live several lives with one life." But that same week, London's *Sunday Times* claimed that Taylor's problem with "drugs, pills and weight are back." According to her assistant, the actress is currently recuperating from severe back pain in a hospital in Santa Monica, Calif. There's another, but is there fire?

Taylor: separation to audiences

Michener: against Bush turned his attention to Canada. Last week, the writer drew to Toronto to launch his new novel, *Journey*, a saga of the Klondike gold rush. But Michener, 87, surprised theatergoers—including author Pierre Berton—by announcing that he was also "crossing the pond"; if George Bush won the presidential race, he would move to Toronto.

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The small-screen vision of Israel

BY BARBARA AMIEL

There were four of us who sat on a late October morning at the crossroads just outside Nablus, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank—myself and a crew of three from Swedish television. The Swedes were making a documentary about the youth of Israel. I was writing about the Israeli elections for the London Times. We both wanted to see how individual Israeli soldiers were coming to terms with fighting the settlers—the continuing rebellion by young Arabs in Israel's occupied territories. We set off with an Israeli patrol at 8:30 a.m. in the sun that was already warm high over the limestone hills.

About 8:45, Shmuel Rechits, the Swedish-speaking interviewer for the TV crew, took a good look at the three-men patrol that they were about to film and pronounced sentence: "They're too old," he advised the senior officer accompanying us. He relieved us for another patrol, clearly under orders to placate whatever henchy the press exhibited. The senior patrol made the same late: "They're in their late 40s," she exploded with all the pithiness of a 28-year-old. "Actually, they're immature like me," our 38-year-old senior officer replied. "They're 28."

The third set of soldiers passed muster, but a steady sapper rang out when the young patrols faced on: that the Swedes wanted to interview them in the Canaan, where the streets are crowded and narrow and security is difficult. The main square in front of the Canaan was the chessboard, and we set off. It was 10 o'clock by the time our three-group procession pulled up to the middle of Nablus. By 11:15, the conversation was going strong. We passed on to the next soldiers supposed to be there. How can you do this work? They had asked that one early—"It's a job that has to be done. My political feelings don't count," one of them, a man of enormous energy, was more than a problem. He kept interrupting their patrols around, scaring the crowds of Arabs who were watching us as growing numbers, laughing and shouting.

I suppose the Israelis are dismayed if they do and dismayed if they don't. A television camera pointed at a group of Arabs in a street here for

trouble. Antisemitic communications war, and it can't. Hence the Arabs for exploiting my opportunity the many give them. To carry on normal life in least of a whining need of relaxation would really their essential complaint that life under occupation is not normal. Myself if I were the Israeli, I'd tell my journalists with inflection concern that they are on their own if they want to go in and film in occupied territory. If the Arab went to those stones at Swedish television, so be it. "We can't do that," said Mireille Wivine, director of communications. "We must find a way to have free press and to protect them."

There is a story to be told by journalists in Israel but it is not the one, I think, that they most often tell. Perhaps it is a matter of money, for manipulation is a common means of extracting the maximum. It concerns the dilemma of a people whose character and creed are at total odds with their geopolitical situation. The Israelis have spent 60 years being invaded, persecuted and harassed with extermination. In that time, they have given back land in order to win peace. Glass (1967), declared themselves ready to talk peace but nearly half a million people demonstrating in the peace movement, and proceeded to glorify peace as euphemistic utopias of various Arab leaders, none of whom since the late president Anwar Sadat has been willing to sit down with the Israelis and negotiate immediately. They have voted only for a declaration that the people with whom they coexist state that Israel has a right to exist undisturbed. Without such a declaration, of course, any agreement would be specious.

The response to all this has been negligible. But one can only marvel at a people who seem so determined to see the best in their enemies and whose liberal humanism has them issue problems to their soldiers forbidding them to fire back at Jewish Israeli throwers and allowing down to shoot only over the heads of rioters.

Such a situation breeds extremism, of course, and some of the uglier television commercials I have ever seen played on Israeli TV. They were made by the splinter parties filling in the gap after the banning of Meir Kahane's Kach party. The message was simple and crude: depict the Arabs as, in the language of the times, "unruly" threat. Still, not more than one or two Israeli in 100 support such policies, and it may be useful to remember that France, with its large immigrant populations of Berbers from North Africa, produced a National Front party with similar separation policies that attracted the support of 14 Frenchmen in 1981 in last April's voting—and in a country at peace.

To the extent the program looks interestingly gloomy, that Israeli lives different lives on the screen. "Please can come out of education and religion," says Giora Avni, Tassan, director-general of the Israel office, a leading government spokesman. "I'd do more for a television station and sales to protect our little country," Giora's shrillness. I guess I still look at the borders, though, that I brought back from Nablus. It took a strong arm to clean it, and that arm seems unbreakable in its bite.

**EXPORT
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Health and Welfare Canada advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked—avoid inhaling.
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STRAIGHT TO THE HEART



THE EMOTIONAL CLASHES OVER FREE TRADE ARE DOMINATING THE CAMPAIGN



"Canada, during every administration since the formation of the United States, would be anomaly in that country and ultimately abandoned." —Prime Minister Robert Borden in 1911, after his successful, emotionally charged crusade against free trade with the United States in the 1911 election campaign

With an unexpected victory, Canada's recurring issue—struggling over free trade with the United States was thrust into the eye of the 1988 federal election campaign

last week. Once again, Canadians faced the task of weighing the potential costs and benefits of a trade agreement with the United States. In the wake of an interesting confrontation over the proposal between Liberal Leader John Turner and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney during the English-language television debate, the English-language television leaders' debate on Oct. 18, emotional arguments on both sides of the border were rekindled—and they brought fear to the hearts and minds of Canadian voters. "It's an old debate being played out in a new way," says "University of Toronto" law professor Michael Bliss. "Once you abolish the department of Canadian free of being taken over by the United States, it is pretty potent." And with the flesh of a TV network,

the previously sleepy campaign for the Nov. 21 election was transformed into one of the most critical—and contentious—elections in Canadian history.

Contention: The bitterness of the campaign and the contradictory claims about the potential effects of free trade continue to plague the contentious parliamentary debate. Peter Liard, of Turner and New accountants, Party Leader Edward Broadbent's own accountants and other charges that the pro-free-trader Conservative's social programs had a disastrous effect on Canadian public opinion. In the days following the French and English debates, the Collip polling organization reported a 19-per-cent shift in voters' intentions—the largest single change ever recorded by the organization in its 41-year history—and that its latest figures gave the Liberals the lead in Ontario and Atlantic Canada. At week's end, as English Canada poll prepared for the CTV Television Network gave the Liberals 46 per cent of the decided vote, the Conservatives 37 per cent, and the NPD 10 per cent. With the Turner choices for a majority government suddenly solidified, pro-free-trade groups and individuals—from a coalition of business leaders to Susan Rasmussen, Canada's chief negotiator in the trade talks—entered the debate.

The shifting campaign even affected the Canadian dollar, which fell 1.46 cents in a

Turner in Toronto (left); Mulroney in Vancouver; "Fear is pretty potent"



POINTS OF NO RETURN

Canada and the United States jointly declared that neither country will allow hijacked aircraft that have landed in their territory to take off again.

DOUBLE DAYLIGHT POLL

The Newfoundland government is polling residents on their opinions on the proposed winter daylight experiment with double daylight saving time. Last April, Newfoundlanders set their clocks ahead two hours to give themselves more light at the end of the day.

TRINIDAD MEDIATORS

France and Canada have chosen François Mitterrand, a Trinidad diplomat, to mediate their dispute over fishing rights in the waters of Newfoundland.

THE PC AFTERMATH

Most of the 5,600 residents affected by the fire that killed 95 in Bas-Saint-Laurent, Que., last August received a clean bill of health from medical testing. Testing supervisor Dr. Stephane Gosselin said that high liver enzyme levels found in about 200 people tested were not likely the result of exposure to PCBs.

MISSING A RE-ELECTION

Conservatives and New Democrats in New Brunswick who held no seats in the Liberal-dominated legislature have not selected candidates in a Nov. 14 byelection. Party spokesman and they were preparing a protest meeting during the by-election campaign.

CNS STRIKEOUT

The CNS staff that it plans to sue the Canada Labor Relations Board to press charges against one of its employees' unions, NART, after strike-and-boycott techniques staged an illegal wildcat strike in Ottawa and parts of the Maritime provinces.

HEARINGS END

A 14-month-long Nova Scotia inquiry into the wrongful imprisonment of Moses Lubin (Donald Marshall Jr.) ended after hearing testimony from 112 witnesses. The three-witness commission is expected to present its report early next summer.

ACID RAIN APPEAL

Ontario petitioned the U.S. Court of Appeals to force the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to prosecute companies violating U.S. pollution laws by emitting too much sulphur and nitrogen oxides.

A HUGE SHIFT IN THE POLLS FOLLOWED THE TELEVISION DEBATES

"Free trade is all that people are talking about. It has a life of its own right now."

The new emphasis on trade was crucial—so much so for the NDP, which had crafted a campaign strategy around a broad array of policy proposals. The party's support appeared to be holding in the party's traditional strongholds, particularly British Columbia, but there were no signs that it was making serious inroads elsewhere. Meanwhile, Turner's campaign became an unapologetic nationalist crusade against the deal.

Rebuke: In turn, the Tory campaign markedly altered its style. Before the winter debates, polls consistently showed that the Conservative would likely win the majority needed to pass the accord. As a result, Mulroney's campaign initially avoided any extensive examination of trade, and the Prime Minister paid little attention to the two free-trade backbenchers who shadowed his campaign tour; instead, he adopted a statesmanlike approach, and his speeches emphasized a wide range of his government's achievements. But as Liberal support rebounded, Mulroney left the high road. He directed some of his sharpest criticism at Liberal campaign co-ordinator Senator Michael Kirby, who argued that halving the support of the business community was the best way to win the support of the Ku Klux Klan. That, said Mulroney, was "the essence of McCarthyism." Tory planners admitted that they had underestimated both the boost the Liberals would get if Turner did well in the TV debates and the impact on the Liberal campaign. At the same

time, and one prominent Conservative, Mulroney was too cautious during the debates.

Although Mulroney had little choice but to defend his trade agreement, his advisers emphasized concern that the campaign was becoming



REBUCHE: CRITICISM OF AN OLD FRIEND

ing a single-issue contest. In fact, it was not until this year that the government began to actively promote free trade with a much-extended \$10-million promotional campaign. Now, some Tories say that their strategy may have

been wrong and that they should have been more active in trying to convince Canadians of the benefits of free trade and removing concerns about any potential weakening of Canadian sovereignty. Said one Tory insider, who requested anonymity: "We had a year without the passage of an election campaign to tell Canadians why the deal is important to their future. Instead, we presented it in a few of the concerned backwaters and did a lousy job at softening the fears of average Canadians."

Now the Tories have to make the case for the accord in the emotionally charged atmosphere of the campaign's waning days. To that end, they sent senior cabinet ministers across the country on a speaking blitz last week in London, Ont., International Trade Minister John Crosbie criticized a group of university students for their attacks on the agreement. He added, "I am not going to be mollycoddle when I disagree with a deliberate attempt to discredit the Canadian people by those in the SFP and the Liberal party." And in Ottawa, Finance Minister Michael Wilson warned that the Americans might revoke the 1985 Canada-U.S. Auto Pact if the deal were not approved. Although Wilson was quickly rebuffed by Ontario Premier David Peterson, who described his remarks as "less-than-convincing," the former minister's comments seemed to make a strong impression, especially in Ontario where one in six jobs depends one way or another on the automobile industry.

Rebuke? The Conservatives also enlisted Reveneu to defend the deal. During several heated exchanges with the media, Reveneu denied federal allegations that Canada's auto programs could be dismantled as a result of the accord. Said Reveneu: "I would state my life that our social programs cannot be touched." Reveneu also criticized Turner, a longtime friend. Indeed, that personal relationship has

THE CAMPAIGN'S WAR OF WORDS

Laid such as the three main parties sought voter support by attacking one another over free trade, one of the most turbulent federal election campaigns in the nation's history unfolded. Some of the most inflammatory remarks

"I'm getting totally fed up listening to the myths, the lies, the distortions that are being put about by these two men and their candidates about the free trade agreement." —Premier Michael Kirby
"We are attacking Liberal Leader John Turner and NDP Leader Edward Broadbent over their claims that free trade would harm Canada's social programs."

"If she hasn't been scared by her own son, she must be immune." —Turner, responding to suggestions that, by championing free

trade would hurt social programs. In her running the sidebar included Press Minister Brian Mulroney's mother.

"Oh, there's a little interaction, here, you read it?" —International Trade Minister John Crosbie, to a University of Western Ontario student who recalled the premier's admission some months ago that he had not read the entire trade agreement.

"You don't have to insult me to make your arguments. I have not been throwing rocks at you. Why would you throw it at me?" —another student, referring to remarks by Crosbie at the same meeting.

"Isn't being blessed by big business a little like being blessed by the Ku Klux Klan?" —Liberal strategist Senator Michael Kirby, on his claims that free trade would harm Canada's social programs.

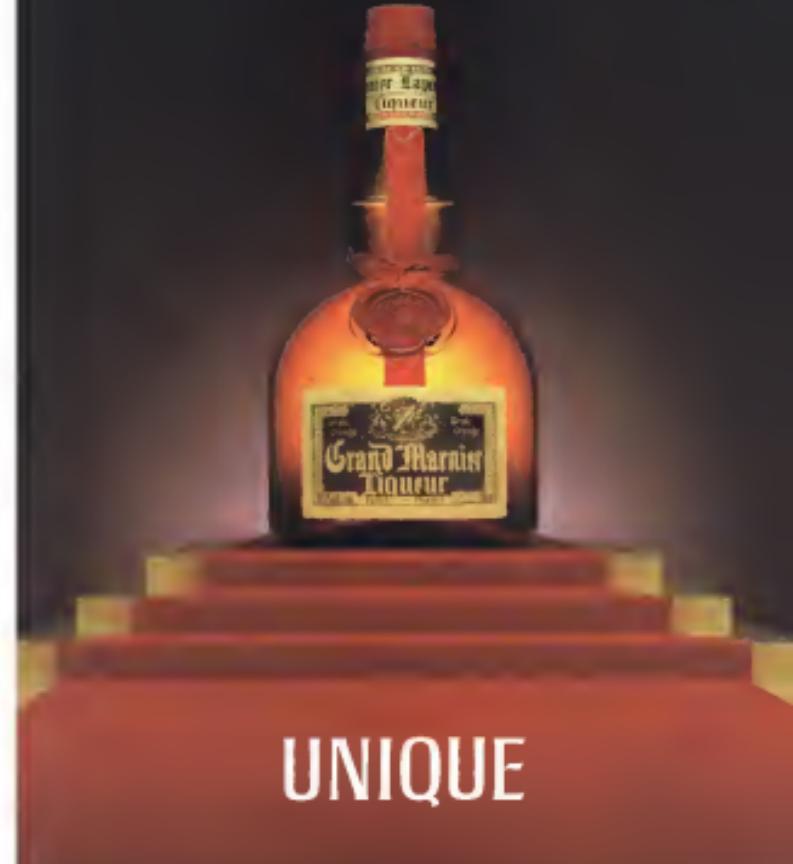
"The accusations of Senator Kirby are the very essence of McCarthyism. Fire him right now!" —Mulroney's aide to Turner

"Can we imagine Brian Mulroney as minister of defense? I'll tell ya, that would be some ministerial meeting." —Mulroney, in a reference to the senator's already well-modified notion of the NDP cabinet.

"Jerk, jerk, what a jerk." —Turner's wife, Gerda, referring to a University of Victoria student's persistent and pointed questioning of the Liberal leader.

"Have you ever heard such a crack?" —Premier David Peterson, responding to Secretary of State Louise Bechtel's claim that Galtair's opposition to free trade makes it a "federal free."

"Mr. Mulroney is the last person that should talk about being a liar. If there was ever a man who proudly misled and frightened senior citizens, it was the Prime Minister." —Broadbent, responding to Mulroney's accusations that the NDP leader was spreading falsehoods about the depth of free trade.



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THE VOLVO 740 TURBO.

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become strained as a result of the trade disagreement. "He is not the man I know Johnstone a desperate man who is being reckless with the future of the country," Jeanne said. "Matters have already brought their TV advertising campaign for the federal election. The ads feature 20 real people—real actors, as in the NDP's advertisement—talking about the merits of the deal. But they believe [that] the Liberals are considering countercandidate bills that would attack Turner and what they perceive to be a weak Liberal team," said Conservative spokesman director Harry Stein. "We will make people remember what they could be given," Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney told *Maclean's* advertising director David Morton. "Last night when the ads will look like it depends on how designate them now."

Trade. Both the Tories and the NDP will have difficulty improving on the effectiveness of a Liberal ad that has been running since Oct. 23, depicting a US trade negotiator raising the Canada-US border. Said Morton: "It is not a debate ad; it is trying to make a point." In fact, communications adviser Julie Mason credits that ad—as much as Turner's debate performance—for the Liberal resurgence. In keeping with the new tone of the campaign, Rennie characterized the ad as "sincere and eloquent." He looked at it and I almost cried," he added. "I am so proud."

Other observers also expressed dismay at the general character of all three parties' ads. Said Alan Ross, president of the Canadian Advertising Foundation, a volunteer group primarily concerned with standards in advertising, "Almost anything goes in election advertising, and the advertisements have been a little less than totally honest." Other observers concluded the campaign's strident tone. Said Ianstone: "There are no pretences left in Canadian politics." As the race tightened, engineers said the bitterness is unlikely to abate. One Tory campaign privately acknowledged that the party had sent pro-free-trade demonstrators to berate Turner at Liberal rallies and predicted that the campaign would get even nastier.

As the divisions deepened, many Canadians joined in the debate after Turner's appearance at a University of Victoria open forum, students and teachers openly clashed over the trade deal. Said John Packer, a senior professor, during a confrontation with one student: "Is it dividing the country along the lines of whether we consider economics to be the most important thing in our lives?" And at a rally in Thunder Bay, Ont., following a visit by Broadbent, another Newfie, Peter Poyntz, a Tory supporter, became embroiled in a shouting match with Charles Miron, an NDP backer. Said Poyntz, "Mulroney is guaranteeing a future for Canada." Declared Miron: "I represent a lot of people in this place, and they are scared to death. And

that is where we wanted the game to be fought." And many observers said that the Liberals would continue to benefit the most if the campaign focus remains on the deal. Said Winnipeg-based politico Angus Reid: "If that election becomes a referendum on free trade, we could be looking at a majority Liberal government."

But the politicians add that the unusually high level of informed voters—averaging around 80 per cent—makes it difficult to predict a clear winner. According to Michael Adams, president of Research Group Ltd. in Vancouver, at least half of those electors are still capable of changing allegiances. And while the polls have closely matched recent surveys, which in voter interviews favoured the Liberals, Adams predicted that "the election could easily go either way."

Intervention. The Tories themselves will benefit if forming another majority government in the enlarged 395-seat House of Commons. One reason is Quebec, where free trade remains popular, the party appears to lead in terms of its current base of supporters. Said Marcel Côté, the Tories' communications director in Quebec: "There is a substantial, especially among Quebec leaders, that free trade is good for the province and does not threaten social programs." And open intervention by Prime Minister Bourassa to save the deficit helped the Tory cause. Said one observer in the province: "Bourassa has now taken the gloves off over free trade."

Open intervention by Prime Minister Bourassa to save the deficit helped the Tory cause. Said one observer in the province: "Bourassa has now taken the gloves off over free trade."

And the pro-free-trade side received support from an unexpected quarter last week: Romano Hall, an 89-year-old Justice Supreme Court justice, said that the Liberals and not the NDP were to blame for their claim that the free trade agreement would undermine Canada's health care system. Dechert Hall, whose 1983 Royal Commission on Health Services in Canada helped to put the existence system at "risk": "I had found that there was in this free trade agreement provisions which would damage medicine. I would have opposed this agreement, because medicine is perhaps one of the things I hold closest to my heart today." Hall's intervention demonstrated the degree to which the trade debate had penetrated nearly every aspect of Canadian life. On the eve of a federal election, with debates ranging from shop floors to boardrooms, that penetration was unlikely to diminish until voters themselves settled the issue.

**RON WALLACE and ELENEA
TEDDELL and MARC CLARK in Ottawa and
JOAN ANNESE, MELISSA MACKENZIE and
LISA RUYDAIJER in the reader's room**



Cheers from Ontario university students: no "nasty-pandy"

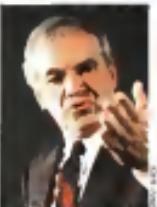
He added: "I

I am scared to death for my job."

Business leaders joined the debate in an attention-grabbing way. A coalition of business, the Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities, launched a \$1.5-million ad campaign presenting the record and predicting severe economic consequences for Canada if it rejects the deal. Its four-to-five-page ads in newspapers contradicted information in a 24-page booklet distributed earlier by an anti-free-trade coalition, the Canadian Network. Said

David Culver, chairman of Montreal-based Alcan Alumina Inc.: "It is a ringing democracy, you often have ringing debate. But I've noticed we've dropped the degree of intensity." He added: "At times like this, our constitutional system of government may not be the best measure of the strength of a nation."

But pollsters and political analysts generally agreed that the election had become synonymous with the trade debate—and that is what the Liberals and the NDP wanted. Said Morton: "The campaign is at our core, and





Automobile production line at Oshawa, Ont.; would the United States ever be as the 22-year-old Auto Pact?

THE FUTURE WITH NO DEAL

DISPUTING THE POTENTIAL DANGERS



The tremors in the world money markets alarmed many economists last Monday, after the appearance of a statement by the International Monetary Fund that the dollar was overvalued.

public opinion poll showing John Turner's Liberals marginally ahead of the Conservative, the Canadian dollar dropped sharply as value-counterpart. In one day's trading 1.5 cents to \$1.54 cents, as it had made since August. At the Canada-U.S. free float, Wally claimed that the result was clear. As the possibility of electing a Liberal government increased, so did the likelihood of that scrapping the trade agreements, trade references and, had many markets read with uncertainty, currency. And Sterry Miller's dollar. He said that financial uncertainty also accompanied election campaigns. Indeed, an American prepared to go to the polls to elect a new president in Nov. 8, the U.S. dollar also declined against major world currencies. By week's end, the Canadian dollar had risen, closing at \$1.80. And at Canada's relatively smooth of scrapping the agreement were still unclear. Some economists said that, apart from short-term uncertainty, there would be few negative effects. But others predicted severe economic consequences for Canada. It was also unclear how American politicians would react to a refusal to sign an agreement that has been ratified by both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

For their part, Tory strategists vowed to combat what they repeatedly called the "lie" that Liberals and New Democrats were

speaking about free trade. Said Jim Keown, the Conservative's director of communications: "Our job now is to disrupt all the free-trading. But the Tories also helped to create a climate of uncertainty. Finance Minister Michael Wilson raised the spectre of U.S. retaliation, possibly against the 29-year-old U.S.-Canada Trade Pact. If Ottawa did not ready the trade deal, The Auto Pact, which would be incorporated into the trade accord, consists General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp. to having their Canadian subsidiary manufacture vehicles in Canada for every car that the auto industry imports." Declared Wilson: "My President or Mr. Trudeau bows down to the White House and says, 'My President, we've just ripped up the free trade agreement.' The President looks back at Mr. Boudreault or Mr. Turner and says, 'That's a coincidence, because we just ripped up the Auto Pact.'"

Alberta Premier Brian Mulroney had rang the silver bells at a speech to the Surrey, B.C., Chamber of Commerce there, he declared that more than two million existing Canadian jobs are dependent on the security of access to the U.S. market; that he and the trade deal will prove "boring up to the agreement," would jeopardize those jobs. And International Trade Minister Jim Crosson, who has served in the government's main free trade spokesman, appeared last week in *The Journal* to warn of trouble ahead if Canada did not respond to the request. "I think I can guarantee you," Crosson said, "that for a number of years, the

successor states, according to the Interprovincial Council of Canada, who estimate the monetary results would be a flight of capital from Canada, a failure of investment capital to come in here, a lowering in the value of the Canadian dollar

with a consequent increase in interest rates," he said. "These would be the immediate economic penalties."

But Crossin—who quoted a minor controversy when he submitted earlier this year that he had not seen all of the trade agreement, apparently only summarized the Economic Council of Canada's position. Spokesmen for the council did not directly address the measure or the conception of their position. But they quickly pointed out that the council's April, 1985, report on free trade—the organization's official assessment of the agreement—but concluded that "failure to ratify the agreement would be unfortunate but not catastrophic." And although they said study of the deal first would probably identify benefits to Canada, Senator Magen, one of the senators who participated in the study, wrote in the report, "the study's prediction that, even without free trade, Canada's 'standard of living would ~~not~~ ~~continue~~ continue to improve'."

Broadbent: But some economists offered a more pessimistic scenario that matched Gosselin's. Cooper, for one, told Maclean's that much of Canada's economic growth over the past 11 years has been a result of both domestic and foreign investors pouring money into the Canadian economy in anticipation of free trade. Without the agreement, he said, investors would lose confidence in the Canadian economy. That in turn would cause the dollar to drop dramatically and lead to the kind of Canadian inflation rates seen in the U.S. during the 1970s. And because interest rates would rise to combat those higher expenses, Canada's inflation rate would remain high. In the long run, the adviser said, Canada's "growth figures, employment figures, would be lower—and it would be a permanent decline over extended periods."

Cooper and other economists also said that in the absence of the trade agreement, the Auto Pact would in fact be replaced. Murray Smith, director of international economics for the Institute for International Public Policy, argued that if the U.S. economy suffers a recession during the next few years, some older auto plants in the United States may be forced to close. In addition, U.S. workers and politicians in auto manufacturing states have been pressuring the White House to increase protection of its generators of Canadian production of auto parts not sheltered under the trade agreement.

In Washington, meanwhile, there was no official comment on the prospects of ratification of the agreement as it stood. In fact, U.S. officials said that there had been little discussion there of the future of the *asym*.

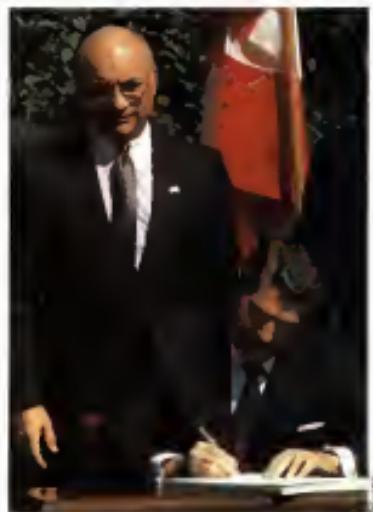
they and, they were reluctant to comment while Canadians were living as citizens. Trade Representative Clinton Younger and chief U.S. free trade negotiator Peter Murphy told *Maclean's* through a spokesman: "We have made it a conscious decision not to comment. It is a strictly Canadian affair...we do not want anyone to think we are interfering in any way."

Still, some experts said that there would be the potential for retaliation. Michael Krahn, a Canadian and a specialist in Canada-U.S. trade relations at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, said that the U.S. could easily commit to lowering tariff levels through bilateral forums—especially if the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—and not leaving the country to bilateral arrangements. Answorthy also said that he has spoken extensively to U.S. politicians about trade issues. "They are not going to be silly enough to start retaliating in a way that would disrupt what is very good trading relationship," he said. And he declared that the loans being raised by the Conservatives are "all part of the menu." Conservatives see the Tories as "fiscalists," one

But even experts from the same bank could not agree at the debate staged last week. Royal Robertson, Royal Bank of Canada vice-president for Saskatchewan, declared that if the free trade deal did not materialize, the Canadian dollar would drop to 70 cents U.S. and interest rates would rise by as much as 20 per cent. The Bank of Canada's rate last week was at 10.63 per cent. But another Royal Bank executive quickly disputed those statements. Allen Yerush, the bank's assistant chief economist, said that the Canadian dollar might well neglects of free trade because it is now overvalued. Yerush added that no corrective exists between free trade and interest rates.

Fears: Meanwhile, Liberal free trade critic Lloyd Axworthy said that renegotiating the agreement is not on his party's agenda. Instead, he said, a Liberal government would be

PETER KOEYVELD and PAUL KAHN in
Toronto and WILLIAM LOWTHER in
Washington



Toronto finds Bangkok signing trade accord: dependent jobs



Eenkmark campaigning in Vancouver Centre (above); des Hertog (below); the national Liberal surge brought changes

SWINGING THE VOTE

THE PARTIES COURT THE BELLWETHER RIDINGS



right, he became a serious contender in the fight with New Democratic Party candidate Johnson des Hertog and Tony Ken Campbell, who won his nomination after fellow candidate Corney decided not to run again.

Incredibly, the campaign entries in final two

weeks, election strategists for all three parties closely monitoring voter support in 35 or more swing ridings across Canada to see which way the political wind was blowing. Mostly in urban areas, those ridings contain substantial numbers of uncommitted voters whose support has tended in previous elections to drift toward the winning party. As a result, these ridings usually witness finely contested election campaigns. Last week, in Turner and his party continued to gain ground, some experts predicted that the right was emerging in favor of the Liberals. Sen. Lorne Bonner, vice-president of Gallop Canada, Inc.: "If the next contest you would expect 90 per cent of the swing ridings to go Liberal—if they are true swing ridings—and Turner to win the election." But history has also shown that they could just as easily bow to the Conservatives if the Tory campaign rigours are earlier augmented.

Among the most closely watched bellwether ridings are Vancouver Centre, St. Boniface in Manitoba, Winnipeg, Scarborough Centre and Scarborough West in Metropolitan Toronto,



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of Muskoka
Toronto Shops on the Lake

COVER

St. Paul's as downtown, Toronto, suburban Ottawa West, Mississauga, N.B., and the downtown riding of Halifax. Senator Alfonso Gamble, the Liberal's political campaign coordinator, acknowledged that at the start of the seven-week campaign party was trailing the Tories—and at some point the star was well—at many swing ridings. But he claimed last week that since Turner's attack on the Canada-U.S. free trade deal during the TV debates, the party has vaulted into first place in most swing ridings—including Vancouver Centre. St. Paul's and Badenoch. "You can smell it," he said. "The kind of support that is just growing."

Most of the swing ridings are in cities and they differ significantly from swing rural ridings where large numbers of constituents are long-time residents who are influenced by local issues and who often vote for the same party that their parents supported. Most of the swing ridings contain high concentrations of immigrant and transient voters primarily interested in national issues. And incumbents in swing ridings often are not as well-known as their rural counterparts. One reason: big-city newspapers and TV stations pay more attention to national issues than to local ones. Ted Thomas Long, campaign chairman for Tory member Pauline Barnes in the Toronto swing riding of Scarborough Centre: "In Scarborough, you cannot get into the local paper because the local paper in The Globe and Mail. It is more difficult to make your candidate a prominent figure in the riding."

In St. Paul's—a riding that stretches from immigrant areas as well as the wealthy neighbourhoods of Phelan Hill—voters have elected the candidate from the party that formed the government in five of the past six elections. That is the 20th century record of the constituency, according to Mr. Long. This time, the Tory incumbent, Minister of Employment and Immigration Michael McDiarmid, 51, faces his biggest challenge since another Mr. Liberal finance critic, Arthur Nicholson, 61, whose riding of Trinity deserted him under electoral redistribution. The MP, represented by party researcher Diane Bell, 34, has traditionally held poorly in St. Paul's.

The upper-middle-class executives and professionals who live on the north and east sides of St. Paul's have traditionally supported the Tories, while the largely Indian neighbourhoods to the west have voted Liberal. Meanwhile, many of the riding's more than 10,000 Jewish voters have been swinging between the parties—until recently determining the winner. As McDiarmid canvassed his riding last week, the overriding topic of discussion was free trade. Some partisan Tories expressed disappointment with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's performance during the first few weeks of the race. "Tell that leader of yours to get off his back," one small company executive told McDiarmid. "He's doing nothing to defend free trade."

For her part, Nicholson and that Turner's strong showing during the TV debates brought scores of new volunteers to her campaign. And since all the campaign workers and their voters see more room for improvement to the Liberal mes-

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DEWAR'S PROFILE:

THOMAS B. STEVENS

PROFESSION: Harpsichord and clavichord builder

WHY I DO WHAT I DO: "I love music, but I've always been better at building things. For me, this is really the best of both worlds."

QUOTE: "Luckier may get you there first, but it doesn't guarantee you'll play something worth listening."

HAB SCOTCH: Dewar's "White Label." "On the rocks. What could be more 'well-timed' than that?"



COVER

age—a concern to the hostility they claim to have encountered before the debates. Still, the riding clearly remains volatile. Last week, several St. Paul voters interviewed by Maclean's said that they were switching their vote from the Liberals to the Tories because they support the free trade agreement. Among them was Dupuis Fitzgerald, 43, an insurance company vice-president, who said, "I think Canada can conquer."

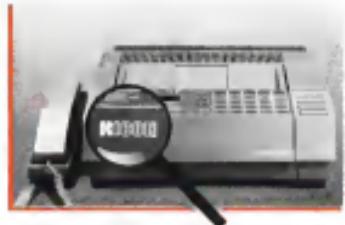
But the fight in St. Paul's seat in the other swing ridings clearly contains more of a party's resources than campaigns for supposedly safe seats. Because no single party has a dominant core of committed voters in a swing riding, they all need more campaign workers to identify and reinforce the undecided. In Halifax, Conservative Public Works Minister Stewart McPherson, 51, is defending his seat against Liberal Mary Clancy, 40, and the seat's Rep. Lorien, 39. There, the Tories have about 680 volunteers, compared to 400 for the Liberals, engaged with fewer than 400 in neighbouring Bedford, which is not a swing riding. In the past three elections, Halifax has switched between the Liberals and the Conservatives twice by narrow margins. McPherson's campaign chairman, Tom Stevens, said that the volatility comes from the presence of about 40 swing polls, out of a total of 211, that are often decided by a few votes.

As a result, both the Tories and the Liberals are concentrating on residence of those voters. The Conservatives are courting students enrolled at the riding's three universities—Dalhousie, St. Mary's and King's College. The Liberals, who say they have 1,000 campaign volunteers, are also focusing on students, as well as the highly mobile downtown business apartment dwellers. For his part, one senior Tory acknowledged that Conservative polls have shown that Turner's performance at the debates improved Clancy's candidacy. And the strategists: "The debates have definitely had an impact. We're in a tough fight in Halifax."

In Vancouver Centre, the Tories are trying to consolidate their hold on middle-class homeowners in the southern half of the riding, which includes the neighbourhoods of Kaslo and Point Grey. The Liberals and New Democrats are both concentrating on winning ridings in two west end communities: Seven Elms and homestead. Some observers in the riding place the Conservatives' Campbell in the front-runner. But last week, Galt's Benoff said that the fight was shaping up as a contest between the NDP's Jim Flanagan, who came second in the 1984 election, and Easmark. With the campaign entering its final two weeks, Benoff noted that Vancouver Centre is still "too close to call." But that is precisely what sets the swing ridings apart and makes them such an irresistible target for the parties. In these volatile areas, anything can happen in two weeks.

PAUL KAHILA is Toronto with DEBORAH ROMA in Vancouver and CLIVE ALLEN in Halifax

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THE TWO SIDES DISAGREE ABOUT HOW TARIFFS WILL AFFECT AUTOS

Canadian Auto Workers president Robert Wise has said that the safeguards would gradually become meaningless because the deal would eliminate all tariffs over a 10-year period. By contrast, opponents of the accord contend that the auto parts safeguards will still have strength.

The free trade agreement regulating energy has created grave concerns, especially in Central Canada, which is a major user. These provisions cover oil, natural gas, coal, electric-

to-be uniformly subsidized. They would also still be entitled to argue antidumping duties at foreign importers priced below their cost of production. But the agreement also provides a duty-to-export year period during which Canada and the United States will try to agree to eliminate those countervailing and antidumping duties.

Until then, the agreement provides for the creation of a five-member panel, composed of two Canadians and two Americans and a chairman who would have to be acceptable to the governments of both nations, to review com-

plaints in the world that includes a binding dispute settlement mechanism. Said Michael Robson of Toronto, a trade lawyer with Fasken, Martineau, Welles: "The Americans have never before agreed to consent, in the final court of appeal, their Federal Courts and Supreme Court."

In fact, the dispute settlement provision earned the respect of one Liberal candidate in the current election. William Grimes, a professor of international law at the University of Toronto who is managing the Transcarrying of Brookdale, wrote a highly favorable assessment of the trade agreement's dispute settlement mechanisms last March. In a 50-page document written for the Ottawa-based Institute for Research on Public Policy, Grimes declared, "It is clear that the procedures specified under the free trade agreement are superior to those under the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] in several respects."

SOCIAL PROGRAMS

The debate over social programs has perhaps generated the most anxiety—and the most heat. It begins on a clause in Chapter 15 that says that the two countries will attempt to negotiate new rules on acceptable government subsidies over the next seven years. Although that clause does not use the term social program or mention any specific program, by mere happenstance it says that the provision would allow the United States to classify such programs as conductive and employment-enhancing as subsidies to Canadian manufacturers—and impose heavy penalties if they continue in their present form.

Some experts in trade law disagree. Jean Coutu, a professor of international business law at Osgoode Hall law school in Toronto, said that in 1979 GATT defined a subsidy as a specific benefit for an individual company or an industry. Both Canada and the United States have compensated that definition into their trade laws.

INVESTMENT

Under free trade, U.S. investors in a new business in Canada would receive the same treatment as Canadian investors. A similar "national treatment" provision would apply to a new Canadian business in the United States. Still, the agreement preserves of existing exemptions to national treatment such as restrictions on foreign ownership in the energy, telecommunications and transportation industries.

MARY JANEAN and STACEY JENKINS ■ TORONTO



Senior citizens, critics say that social programs would be vulnerable to attack

ity and sexism. They state that Canada cannot reduce exports to the United States below the average of the preceding 36 months unless it cuts domestic subsidies by a similar proportion. As well, Canada cannot change American taxes for oil than the domestic price. Free trade opponents say that these commitments would rob Canada of control over its energy resources by handing it to the United States in continental energy-sharing. Supporters say that the previous supply ensure that the National Energy Board in Canada is satisfied that a surplus in energy exists; U.S. companies would be free to compete with Canadian companies to lay Canadian energy products.

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

Under the agreement, both Canada and the United States would still be allowed to impose duties on the other's products that they believe



Shopping for appliances; Cormier (below) plans for a national sales tax

QUESTIONS IN THE BACKGROUND

THE PARTIES IGNORE SOME ISSUES



It is an issue that has bedeviled the Conservative government since a worn jacket day in 1987 when Finance Minister Michael Wilson introduced his proposed for a national sales tax. The finance minister said that Ottawa was introducing the measure to replace another "unnecessary federal tax." In the months that followed, and now on the campaign trail, Liberal Leader John Turner and New Democratic Party Leader Edward Broadbent have repeatedly called on the government to repeal the new tax while conservative. But Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has never cited a specific figure. Instead, he says only that the proposed tax would not affect the federal budget deficit. By sticking to that response, Mulroney has not shed much light on the complex world of taxation but he has effectively limited debate on the sales tax proposal that would dramatically affect the pocketbooks of many Canadians. Indeed the financial battle over free trade has obscured the fact

that all three parties have indirectly started a brief of major issues throughout the campaign.

On one of them, such as the Conservative decision to spend \$5 billion on nuclear subsidies, of three parties have avoided the debate. On some other issues, such as the use



of the deficit, opposite leaders have been even more reticent than their Conservative opponent. As a result, the public has heard little about these and other significant issues such as immigration policy and the March Lake constitutional accord.

The reasons for the parties' compartmentalization are as complicated as the issues themselves. In most instances, the three wings do have specific policies but they are reluctant to mention them because the topics are political雷区 (no-go areas). It is the New Democrats or Liberals for increased nationalism, which they both support, would probably provoke intense protests of foreigners competing for Canadian jobs. Many issues are too sensitive to explain in broad terms and radio digest. Discussing the national sales tax, for one, could entail an examination of the entire tax structure. But Liberal national campaign director John Webster: "It is hard to have a serious discussion about an important issue in a 30-second TV sound bite."

But the most important reason behind the apparent neglect of many issues is that the controversy over the Canada-U.S. free trade accord has absorbed nearly everyone's attention. Lorne Bonzor, the vice-president of Gallop Canada Inc., said just after the televised debates on Oct. 24 and 25, voters became caught up in the constitutional issues raised by the trade deal. "Free trade has given birth to a battle of the mood to a battle of the teams," he said.

"There are other issues, but people are focusing on free trade," added Conservative communications director Vic Reiter. "Free trade has become the focus. When we're in essentials the comfort zone on that issue then we can get back to broader issues." Those issues include

NATIONAL SALES TAX

Under the Conservative proposal presented in June 1987, a national sales tax would replace the manufacturers' sales tax, a levy of up to 12 per cent that applies to many manufactured goods. The manufacturers' sales tax raised \$12.9 billion last year. But it is riddled with loopholes: it applies to automobiles and major appliances, for example, but it excludes clothing. It also increases the cost of domestic goods more than imported goods. By contrast, a national sales tax would apply to all goods and services, raising from business to legal work, with the exception of groceries and prescription drugs. It would also apply in every stage of the production process, from raw material to finished product. A complicating system of rebates would ensure that individual components in a product were not subject to double taxation.

Details of the new tax have not been announced. Finance Minister Wilson has suggested that it should replace not only the manufacturers' sales tax but the provincial retail sales tax. In that case, Ottawa would collect the new tax, and the provinces would receive a portion of it. But if the provinces do not consent, Ottawa would proceed with its own sales tax, at a probable rate of 10 per cent, perhaps as late as 1988. If Ottawa does not go it alone, the new tax

FREE TRADE HAS OVERWHELMED DISCUSSION OF MAJOR ISSUES

would apply to all goods and services. The provincial sales taxes would continue to apply to the specified goods that they cover.

It is also not known how much that tax would extract for the federal government. Predictions have varied over what the new tax would mean.

Paul Wilson, a Waterloo professor who has simulated how Ontario will act according to estimates to come at least \$4 billion more in federal revenue than the manufacturers' sales tax does. Ontario's Liberal Treasurer Robert Nixon, assuming a one-per-cent rate of inflation, predicted that Ontario would collect \$3 billion more than it does now. Wilson has simply insisted that the tax will be revenue neutral.

Whatever the amount, Wilson has said that the government should use any extra income to lower other taxes and to help low-income families. Indeed, the white paper on taxation and the additional revenue would be used for three specific purposes: to remove the three-per-cent surtax that has been in effect on all income taxes since 1988; to lower personal income tax rates; and to increase the current refundable sales tax credit of \$15 per adult and \$35 for each child under 18 among lower-income families. But Edward Cormichael, vice-president of the Toronto-based C.D. Howe Institute, says that the new sales tax credit would have to be "very generous" to win the support of lower-income Canadians. As it stands, he added, the credit would constitute the first step toward a guaranteed annual income because it would make a substantial addition to the polarization of low-income families. "But none of this is being debated or discussed," said Cormichael, a strong supporter of the proposed tax.

Other aspects of the new proposals would also go to the heart of the Canadian tax system. Currently, the full amount of the sales tax credit goes only to families with incomes of \$16,000. Nixon cuts \$5 from the credit for each \$100 of additional family income. If that does not change, many lower-middle-class families would not receive the credit when the new sales tax goes into place. Critics of the proposed tax call it "regressive" because it would apply equally to all purchasers regardless of their income, and would

thus, in a startling increase, move than 150,000 immigrants arrived in 1987, followed by more than 118,000 in the first nine months of 1988.

According to most experts, Canada still needs more manpower. University of Toronto economist David Posen says that the first indications of a labor shortage are already visible in becoming southern Ontario—in the Help Wanted signs for clerks and restaurant help plastered on shop-fronts. As well, the growth of the labor force has slowed to 1.6 per cent in the last three years, per cent annually in the 1980s and 1.75 in recent years. Population growth in general has declined. "People are going to become scarce," said Paul. "If we want to continue to grow as we do at the same time, then we are going to need significantly more people levels above 150,000 per year."

But the conservatives—on the few least to deal with it—have received little attention from the politicians or the media. The Conservatives have not produced an election policy on immigration levels. The Liberals would put more and emphatic emphasis on family reunification. Their policy would set an annual immigration level of one per cent of the Canadian population—roughly 250,000 immigrants—but Turner has rarely mentioned it during the campaign. The New Democrats have produced a lengthy white paper on immigration that states the party "is ready to address the pressing need to increase our immigration levels substantially in the future." Said Paul: "People still view immigrants as stealing jobs from Canadians, so it may not be politically wise to address the issue."

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

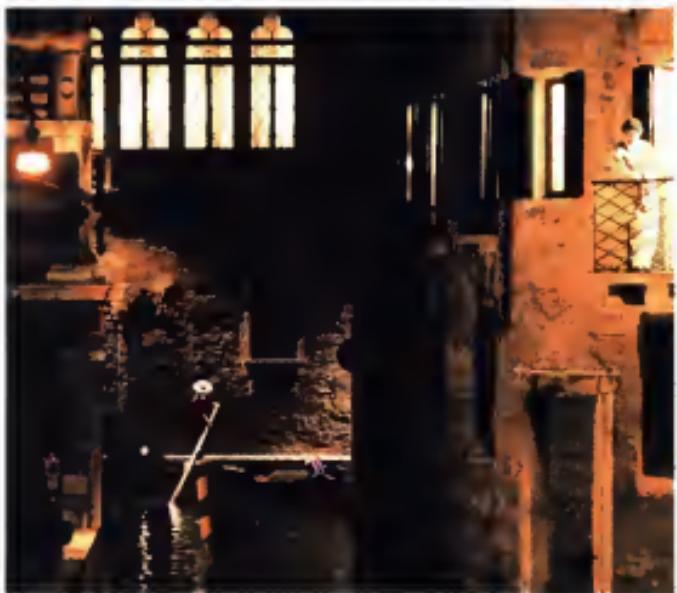
The Conservatives are proud of their record on the deficit: they have cut it to \$25.3 billion in 1987-1988 from \$38.3 billion in 1984-1985. Most significantly, during that same period, the deficit has declined to 3.2 per cent of the gross domestic product from 7.5 per cent.

Still there are potential problems on the horizon. The national debt—the accumulated total of these annual deficits—reached \$197 billion last March. Many economists say that if Canada goes into a recession, the amount of that debt could cripple the economy—and the deficit would skyrocket. Thomas Courchene, director of the school of policy studies at Ryerson, Ont., Queen's University, adds that Canada's household savings rate has dropped to near zero per cent of disposable income from 14 per cent over the past three years. As a result, Canada is now financing a portion of its deficit with foreign borrowing. Said Courchene: "We



Immigrants at Mississauga airport: political maneuvering

Venerari Glass



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COVER

could very easily move into a Third World type of debt problem.

The Conservative program calls for steady deficit reduction. When the NDP announces a new policy, it also emphasizes economic measures, namely tax increases, that would at least partly pay for it. The Liberals rarely mention the deficit—although they say that they will provide a cost estimate for their much 40-point program before the end of the campaign. Said Welster: "In terms of moving taxes, it is not a question."

MEECH LAKE ACCORD

The Meech Lake constitutional accord, finalized in June, 1987, would make fundamental changes to the Canadian Constitution if several Quebec acts ("distinct society"), a change goes the intervening formula to require effective unanimity, it allows provinces to "opt out" of a new national shared-cost programs in areas of exclusive provincial jurisdiction and to receive federal compensation if they establish a program "compatible with the national objective"; and it provides for a principal voice in appointments to the Supreme Court and the Senate. So far, eight provinces and the federal government have endorsed the accord. (For it to become law, the remaining provinces, New Brunswick and Manitoba, must endorse the accord before June, 1990.)

But the accord is not an issue in the campaign. All three parties endorse it—although the Liberals and the NDP have proposed minor twists to amend it before it has passed. Deborah Coyne, an organizer with the Canadian Coalition on the Constitution, says that the accord changes the face of the nation: "We are going to end up with a balanced nation, with a federal government that has lost all effectiveness," she argued. "But there cannot be a debate as long as all three leaders support it."

SUBMARINES

As the controversial centerpiece of a major defence agenda, the Conservatives have proposed purchasing 18 to 22 nuclear-powered submarines at a cost they estimate at \$1 billion. But some defence experts say that the cost is too low. Two weeks ago, Robert Bernard, editor of the U.S. weekly Defense News, predicted that, if additional costs such as maintenance are included, the price could range from \$10 billion to \$18 billion. As well, members of peace groups and other critics have questioned the need for the submarine. Seit Jih Thibault, president of the Ottawa-based Operation Denebake, "They will not prevent a nuclear war and they will not protect us if we should break off."

But that multibillion-dollar program has surfaced in the campaign. The Conservatives simply want the money—and have yet to decide on whether to choose British or French-built submarines. The Liberals, who estimate that the Conservative program would actually cost \$16 billion, say that they would spend about \$8 billion for a new fleet of diesel-powered submarines. The NDP also favors diesel-powered subs. Party spokespeople said last week that Broad-

beau would soon announce a price tag for those submarines—and for his overall defence plan.

Martin Shearbeck, editor of the Canadian defense weekly, *The Warplane Report*, said that Canada's plan of nuclear subs by the year 2000 is an underestimate. "It's the highest, in terms of an underestimate," he said. As a result, with all three parties favoring the purchase of submarines, Canada faces a major change in defence policy and major defence expenditures, whatever party wins. Shearbeck pointed out that the submarine would replace aging surface frigates used in anti-submarine warfare operations in the North

Atlantic and the North Pacific. "We're changing from surface ship technology to submarine forces but that has been missed in the campaign," he said. "The three parties seem to be taking a homogeneous path."

The question is, will it be many years in the coming campaign. But it is already clear that there has made no impact on the trade, which, at the expense of virtually everything else, continues to deteriorate despite the decline in the oil price.

MARY HANIGAN with BOSS LAYER INSET
MACKENZIE and DAVID WILLETT of O'Brien

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WORLD

A RELIGIOUS POWER PLAY

Since the birth of modern Israel 40 years ago, the Jewish state's religious parties have exercised an influence out of proportion to their numerical strength. From the outset, the country's uniquely electoral system of proportional representation ensured that no secular party could form a government without the assistance of one or more of those parties. And there was always a price to pay—such as a coalition loss in public transport. Secular Israelis had an expression for it: "The religious tell us we're the secular dog." And the results of last week's election, in which the religious parties won the balance of power in the 120-seat Knesset (parliament), again raised concerns about the extent of their involvement in government. Comparing Israel's religious rightists to the spiritualists of Iran, Shlomo Aloni, leader of the relatively secular Gush Emunim Movement, declared that, with the election, Israel had been

**AN ELECTION LEFT ISRAEL'S
RIGHT-WING LIKUD
BLOC SEEKING A
COALITION WITH
ORTHODOX ZEALOTS**

"catered back to the Middle Ages."

The commanding position in which Israel's four religious parties now find themselves was due to their sharply increased vote and a deadlock between the two main secular parties, the right-wing Likud bloc and the centrist

**Mourning victims of a bomb attack:
bereftness of severe violence**

left Labour Party. And one consequence seemed certain to be heightened Middle East tension. A Likud-led government embracing the religious right and the three ultra-orthodox secular parties would be as pledged to keep all the territory occupied by Israel since 1967—and to take similar measures to put down the 11-month-old intifada, or uprising, in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. In an interview with *Newsweek*, former Foreign Minister Avigdor Liebel, Israel's former ambassador to the U.S. and a likely member of any right-wing coalition, "They will make us pay a price. We could have done with a few more seats." One right-of-center lawmaker—former Likud Central Committee member Moshe Arens—even predicted Shimon Peres's offer to protest his negotiations

with the religious parties if it could fit inside: "He considers everything that is outside as foolish."

Most observers agreed that the outcome of the election made choices of a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem more remote than ever. "It means more violence and a continuation of the uprising," said Robert Neumann, director of the Middle East program at Washington, D.C.'s Center for Strategic and International Studies. "There will be greater tension throughout the region and a greater threat of war."

Likud Leader Shimon Peres, who had participated in a policy of exchanging territory for peace, has an electoral mandate gained by an Oct. 59 Palestinian pro-bomb attack on a bus, which killed a young Jewish mother and her three children. After the vote, he had initially no chance of uniting the religious parties to coalesce under his leadership. "We don't have enough common ground," he said. "They are too extreme. We still have to go after opposition, remaining true to our policies." And there were signs of a revolt within the party following Peres's fourth failure since 1977 to lead La-

kur to victory. "The party will have to undergo a radical reform," and trounce their "monarchs in the outgoing 'government of status quo'" in which Lubid and Luban had run the country since the last electoral deadlock in 1984. But Peres, too, had misgivings, and so did Luban. "We know no other leader," he said.

The new 1-epicene government, 26 seats, the three small secular parties joined another 10, leaving the center-left blue 13 seats short of a majority. Meanwhile, Likud won 39 seats, and its ultra-orthodox secular allies had seven, for a total of 46. But—partly because of an increase in the Orthodox population and a decrease among secular Israelis due to emigration—the religious parties increased their representation to 18 seats from 12. With these support, a Likud-led coalition would have a clear-cut majority.

But the religious parties' price for joining was likely to be high, and even some members of Likud feared campaigns. "Are we really going to have to live in the same government with all those rabbis?" said one American-born Likud activist. Added Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's former ambassador to the U.S. and a likely member of any right-wing coalition: "They will make us pay a price. We could have done with a few more seats." One right-of-center lawmaker—former Likud Central Committee member Moshe Arens—ever skeptical of Shimon Peres's offer to protest his negotiations

Most troubling to Israel's Jewish supporters abroad was a demand that converts brought into the faith by Reform or Conservative rabbis should be denied Orthodox Jewish citizenship under the traditional Law of Return. The majority of Christians and U.S. religious Jews belong to Reform or Conservative congregations, and, until Toronto Rabbis Rabbi W. Gunzberg, Ph.D., "very much want and regard this very deeply for its symbolic effect."

In his Midrash interview, Shimon Peres stated that he was "not inclined to accept" every demand of the religious bloc. "I don't think that the religious parties are about to impose anything on other parts of the population," he added. But on the question of denominational non-Orthodox converts—over at the risk of alienating North American Jews—he seemed less flexible. "My position and that of Likud is to support this legislation," said Shimon.

At the same time, he promised to restrict extremist demands by his likely secular partners—such as the annexation of the occupied territories and the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel and the territories. He said that he was committed to the 1979 Camp David agreement, under which the status of the occupied territories would be decided by negotiation after a period of limited autonomy. "It will not do anything opposed to the spirit and language of the Camp David agreement," said Shimon. He similarly rejected an expansionist policy. "Of course we don't accept it," he said.

Still, it seemed certain that a Likud-led government would not move quickly than Likud's outgoing defense minister, Yitzhak Rabin, to pull down the intifada, which has claimed at least 315 Palestinians and 10 Israeli lives. A Likud government was also likely to move swiftly to establish new Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. In retrospect, instead of religious-nationalist zealots not just like Thurston to start 11 new settlements in the Gaza Strip.

Palestinians generally expressed dismay at the election outcome. "It was a clear endorsement of the parties that want Greater Israel," said Hanna Shemer, editor of the left Jerusalem daily *Al Hayy*. "This will be an escalation of the conflict, perhaps even a war with Israel's Arab neighbors." PLO leader Yasir Arafat had previously urged Israel to vote for the technocratic Alignment government, an apparent reference to Peres's pro-domestic policies. Said Arafat: "There is no difference between Peres and Shimon."

As such, some Israeli analysts said there was another choice: that the demands of the religious and nationalist parties might prove too extreme for Likud and that despite their divisions, the two main parties might be forced into more than an uneasy partnership.

As the religious parties insisted that they had the right to govern, the religious parties might prove too extreme for Likud and that despite their divisions, the two main parties might be forced into more than an uneasy partnership. As such, some Israeli analysts said there was another choice: that the demands of the religious and nationalist parties might prove too extreme for Likud and that despite their divisions, the two main parties might be forced into more than an uneasy partnership.

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JOHN REIFERMAN with ERIC SALTER in Jerusalem

A COMPUTER VIRUS

A Pentagon data network linking thousands of U.S. military computers and communications equipment by telephone lines was severely damaged by a computer virus. The most concentrated outbreaks of malicious software by replicating itself through the network, Computer security student Robert Morris Jr., 23, planted the virus, which multiplied faster than planned because of a program error—and exposed the vulnerability of computer networks.

AN ABORTED COUP

Frenzied demonstrators abandoned a coup attempt against the government of the Maldives when India dispatched 1,800 paratroopers to the Indian Ocean island nation. Troops pursued the assassins, who took hostages and fled by boat.

INDIA'S TROUBLES

India's Marcai pleaded not guilty to charges of fraud and racketeering in Federal Court in New York City. She and her husband, former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos—who claimed that he was too ill to travel from their Florida exile home—are accused of looting \$104 million from the Philippines before defrauding U.S. banks of \$168 million. Indira Marcai was released after U.S. millionaire Don Duke posted her \$6-million bail.

A DRUGGIE ATTACK

Arab rebels fired mortars and an Israeli soldier guard headquarters, killing four soldiers and wounding 35 others. The attack took place just hours after armed rebels chief of staff Col. Reuven Raanani said that he opposed sharing power with the rebels, who have waged a nine-year war against the government.

SARHKHON'S NEW ROLE

Prominent Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov will run for senator next April. A new electoral law allows nongovernmental groups to elect members to a Congress of People's Deputies, which will in turn elect a new parliament, Sakharov and Shatzar.

SOUTH KOREAN VIOLENCE

Nearly 8,000 police clashed with 5,000 student radicals in Seoul who were attempting to march to celebrate former president Choi Da-kyun, whom they blamed for human rights abuses.

IMPASSE IN GENEVA

In its peace talks in Geneva, Iran declared that it would not agree to a release of long prisoners of war unless Iraq first withdraws its troops from Iranian territory captured during their eight-year war.



Peres: adding West Bank settlements

with the religious radicals. "We are afraid of this black position," said Avi Avneri, Hiz's chairman.

As the religious leaders began negotiations with Likud late last week, their lack of demands enabled a bias in the protection and sale of pride—which some secular Israelis saw as the protection of Friday-morning movies and Saturday-afternoon soccer. They were also demanding more money for Orthodox schools and institutions; greater powers for religious courts, and control of key ministries.

The Reagan legacy

Despite mistakes, his popularity endures



—a Cleveland man who calls himself the "Military Capital of America"—the feeling seems to me an exaggeration over the jumps. The New-Millennium College, founded by him, however, has an older

practiced. "We love you, and we're glad to have you back," the crowd chorused. "Chicago," he began, "is a city of great nostalgia, drawing us to a place we could always return to." And Krugman, "And we're home," he said, "at last." He reached out his hands. Krugman, the presidential candidate of his eighties, had revisited a place you last saw him go out there—Greece?

The gym floor
of the Ohio State
campus, where he
is a student, was
the scene of a
recent protest
against the
University's
decision to
allow women
to compete in
athletic contests.
The protest
was organized
by the National
Organization for
Women, which
accused the
University of
discriminating
against women
in its athletic
programs. The
protest was
met with
resistance by
some members
of the university
community,
including
President
Franklin D.
Roosevelt.
The protest
was eventually
overruled by
the university
administration.
The protest
was a major
event in the
history of
the women's
rights movement
in the United
States.

of 16 per cent in 1982. To Boren's young protege that has since membership in the Republican per cent from 20 per cent. His achievements are the result to the benefit of the country ever, who will celebrate his days after leaving office. David Boren, a 25-year-old "My brother graduated in of the Carter administration played for those years. Boren years and got a name.

But his record has also been mixed. In presiding over the biggest peace-time defense buildup in the nation's history—and over a

21-month underprivileged period of growth, longer than the Second World War—Reagan implied the national deficit. In less than a year, he turned the United States into another debtor nation, owing more than \$400 billion, from the world's number 1 creditor, \$168 billion. And using economic pretext, a reduced standard of living for generations to come, said Jeff Pass, president of the Liberal Economic Policy Institute: "Reagan is as to stand tall at the saddle. Then he'll have raised the horse."

Now has the economic recovery been even? During Reagan's two terms, the gap between rich and poor has widened, leaving a potentially employable underclass and mass people in poverty—32.5 million in 1987 compared with 28.6 million in 1979. About 13 million of those classified as poor are children under age 18. While the richest 10 per cent of Americans



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WORLD

since 1983 and the government recently launched a retrospective guerrilla war against Nicaragua, which has a population of just 3.5 million. But those who have been most seriously harassed by Reagan and the 1979 kidnapping of seven U.S. hostages held at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran by Moslem extremists had been Ronald and Nancy Reagan, who had hosted the 1980 inauguration of Jimmy Carter at their ranch in California.

In 1980, Reagan campaigned as an outsider who would get the government off the backs of the people, and in 1984—as president—he repeated that popular pledge. But, in fact, what he repeatedly referred to as “big government” has grown even bigger. The federal civilian workforce was raised between 1982 and 1987 by about 150,000, growing to more than three million. Still, invoking “states’ rights”—a refrain used during the 1950s civil-rights struggles to fight federally mandated integration—he unleashed an attack against minority civil-rights gains. His justice department challenged, with little success, dozens of affirmative-action decrees previously negotiated with city governments. And early this year, he vetoed the Civil Rights Restoration Act—a veto that Congress later overrode.

Many critics charged that his administration created a new climate in which racism became acceptable. Mr. Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only black on the Supreme Court, last year broke the traditional silence of his office to claim that Reagan ranked at “the bottom” among presidents on the subject of racial justice. And after appearing nearly half of all federal judges, he has given the country’s justice system a more conservative, conservative-virtuous character—perhaps his most enduring achievement.

Even Reagan’s experienced personal agent appears an amateur. A deluge of bad news, by former aides here, pointed devastatingly to facets of his human, amateurish side: detail and lack of unaffected grace; or even some of his own policies. In the most damaging account, *For the Record*, former chief of staff Donald Regan portrays him as a passive, conciliatory figure, still an active player in the role of president. White House “We” separated his daily schedule as being something like a shooting script in which characters came and went, scenes were rehearsed and acted out, and the plot was advanced one day at a time, and not always in sequence. His staff learned that the only way to capture his attention was to play on his sentiments. According to Regan, when former CIA director William Casey wanted his agreement to sell arms to Iran in return for release of U.S. hostages held in Lebanon,



Dash with grandchildren in Los Angeles, Kye is Reagan's shadow

Casey showed the president a photograph—said to be the kidnappers—of hostage William Buckley, a CIA agent, being tortured. Reagan’s emotional response led directly to the “Iran-contra” scandal that shook his presidency.

But even the proof that Reagan had lied to the nation about selling arms to Iran, which sent his personal approval rating down by 11 points, failed to permanently impair his popularity. His popularity has now reached a record high of 66 per cent. It remained unaffected by Reagan’s re-election last May. But the administration depended on the readings of San Francisco astrologer Jean Quigley in deciding the timing of key events. Nor was Reagan’s mood disturbed by the release in September of a videotape from a secret 1984 Republican campaign meeting at which his strategists joke repeatedly about the “old man” they employ. In fact, the tape reveals that Reagan might have pursued action on Iran four years ago. But speech writer Kenneth Krahulec reminded his colleagues that, in 1980, Reagan blamed and cast as villains those from Iran. Said Krahulec: “If you get the old man going on it, he goes ‘after him.’ ”

Reagan still enjoys drama, an audience with the Pope, made a speech in Brazil thanking the “people of Bolivia,” and once failed to recognize the only black member of his cabinet, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Sam H. Pierce, greeting him as “Mr. Mayor.” He has taken so many liberties with facts, including faking his own wartime



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WORLD

still doing well—scores for Hollywood trashing Reagan “four years in advance,” that they’re chomping at the bit in a book called *Reagan’s Reign of Error* that failed by a wide margin to become his first year in office, he’d faced with major challenges for two consecutive terms—and as the administration recovers and an economic slowdown eases, to reinforce the notion: “No matter what Reagan did, you couldn’t help but like him.” And Nina Sommer, a Los Angeles actress-director: “He seemed so humanistic—sort of like a big golden retriever.”

Reagan’s decisions remain as firmly intact that Bush’s managers had to confront what they call the “statue guy” largely by keeping him away from Reagan. And as he has tried riding through the What last week, Reagan remained every observers’ point of low mark: the style, themes and language of this year’s campaign bear his influence. His television-for-election rallies, devised by media handlers such as then-deputy chief of staff Michael Deaver, served as the model for the current White House race. And Reagan’s proclivity perplexed the techniques of media manipulation that communications critic Mark Hertsgard blames for the current ambiguity and lack of substantive debate on issues.

As Hertsgard points out in a new book, *On Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan Presidency*, Deaver controlled the media by helping reporters do their job. He gave them a constant flow of visually engaging events that television reporters could not refuse, but that distanced them from pursuing critical story lines. Said Hertsgard: “It was manipulation by immersion.” Other analysts note that, after eight years of applying an astute press strategy, the public now judges candidates on their ability to read convention speeches from TelePrompTers and theirability. Said James David Barber, author of *President Carter*: “We’ve become a nation of drama critics.”

But Reagan has also changed the nature of the national debate. The opinions and personalities of both Bush’s and Bushless’ rhetoric were patterned on Reagan’s own market-oriented lexicon. Even Bush’s effort to distance the “Reagan” label from Reagan turned into a market-share battle. The Bush campaign has studied the political contours of both parties to the right. Now it is up to Deaver’s team to talk of successive social spending programs in part because Reagan’s reforms have made that impossible. In fact, in his 1984 book, *Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed*, former budget director David Stockman claimed that the secret agenda of Reagan’s supply-side economists was “to have a strategic deficit that would put you in a corner in cutting back the programs that weren’t desired.”

But despite Reagan’s sociopathic resolution he failed to forge a political realignment that would give Republicans control of Congress. He did, however, build a new political coalition of the affluent and the middle-class—who most benefited from his tax cuts—and the religious

right whose values he championed, at least in speeches. That coalition has solidified the party’s base in the Rocky Mountain states and the South and it has ensured the Republicans of an Electoral College base likely to give them a comfortable majority in the next election. As the lesson now, Reagan’s attack on organized labor—beginning with his 1981 firing of 11,346 striking federal air-traffic controllers—has helped push union membership down to 17.5 per cent of the workforce in 1989 from 23.8 per cent in 1968. And that has eroded the Democratic party’s traditional working-class base.

As Reagan prepares to ride off into the sunset, leased for the \$3-million Los Angeles apartment estate located for him by wealthy California supporters of one of the Koches’ children, he says that he will continue his plan to leave for the longshot December Presidential election. “I have a bunch I’d be right back there on the market potato roast, making my views known.” The Great Communicator may be leaving the White House, but it remains clear that his policies will hang longer on the national stage.

MARCI MCDONALD in Washington

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Thatcher's acclaim

The prime minister meets the Polish workers

FOR British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the situation was nearly fatal to her: says workers had voted to protest a government decision to close a now-vacant shipyard. But the workers were not British; they were Polish. And the enterprise was not an obsolete factory in northern England, but the giant Lenin shipyard in Gdansk—the birthplace of the Revolutions Bloc's first independent trade union movement, Solidarity, which was born in 1980. And as Britain's Iron Lady began her first state visit to Poland last week, she found herself on foreign ground, taking the side of workers against the government. At a banquet hosted by Polish Communist leader Gen. Włodzimierz Jaruzelski, Thatcher said economic prosperity could only be achieved if people are given "freedom of expression, freedom of association, the right to form free and independent trade unions."

Even before she began her three-day visit, the battle over the Lenin shipyard had complicated Poland's already tense government-labor relations into a full-blown crisis. The trouble began on Oct. 21 after the official news agency issued a statement announcing: "The [Lenin] shipyard will formally stop existing on Dec. 1, 1988, and from that date, a gradual process of liquidation will start." Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski said that the decision was purely "economic," noting that more changes of unprofitable factories would follow. But Solidarity founder Lech Wałęsa charged that the shutdown was a "political provocation" intended to forestall planned round-table discussions on economic and political reform with the outlawed union.

In a surprise announcement of his own, Wałęsa declared that the yard's management and the official crop union—which replaced Solidarity in 1982—had agreed to the decision. "There are many symbols in Poland," said Wałęsa, an engineer at the shipyard, "but this is the biggest one, and nobody can let them take that iron away from us."

The Lenin shipyard—named after Vladimir Lenin, founder of the Soviet Union—was a symbol of opposition to Poland's Communist authorities for several decades. And news agency said that the Lenin shipyard will only now shut down last year compared with 24 in 1979. Its workforce was expected to 12,300 in 1988, down from 38,000 in the mid-1970s. And last year, the yard lost \$6 million while

not under Wałęsa's control. A strike at the yard in August 1986 led to the birth of Solidarność, the bill of Edward Gierek's government. Last summer, the shipyard was again on the front line of nationwide labor unrest. In September, Wałęsa replaced Tadeusz Mazurek as prime minister and pledged to hold talks on Poland's future with leaders of Solidarność, the Russian



Thatcher with workers in Warsaw advocating workers' rights and democratic reforms

Catholic church, the CPZ union and political opposition groups.

But those talks—already delayed for more than two weeks—appeared suddenly postponed last week. While Jaruzelski reiterated his commitment to the discussions, his unshaken decision to close the Lenin shipyard provided little hope that negotiations will begin soon. "The round table has lost its message," said Wałęsa.

They persisted to talk, while at the same time, they liquidate the shipyard.

The controversy over the decision was more about method than substance. Wałęsa and the shipbuilding industry in decline. And news agency said that the Lenin shipyard will only now shut down last year compared with 24 in 1979. Its workforce was expected to 12,300 in 1988, down from 38,000 in the mid-1970s. And last year, the yard lost \$6 million while

receiving state subsidies of \$22.3 million.

But losses alone do not explain why the Lenin shipyard was chosen to be the first casualty of economic restructuring. Recently, Warsaw officials said that they had a list of 166 unprofitable state enterprises. And published sources show that the Paris Committee stepped in to Gdansk last month to discuss the issues of the Lenin yard in 1987 while pushing more than double the amount of subsidies.

Both the government and Solidarność tried to use Thatcher's visit to their advantage. Polish news media attempted to draw parallels between the way she defended the cause of the miners and reduced state subsidies to industry in Britain and Jaruzelski's decision to close the shipyard. Wałęsa, meanwhile, expressed his admiration for the British leader's hardline approach to communism while downplaying her stern economic policies. "I, Lech Wałęsa,



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AIR CANADA FLIES LOW

THE AIRLINE'S NEW SHARES HAVE SO FAR DISAPPOINTED THOUSANDS OF HOPEFUL BUYERS

When the federal government announced its 45-per-cent sell-off of Air Canada last August, the multimillion-dollar advertising campaign promoting the sale name-shamed sharp-shooters Forbes Global Securities' Canadian chairman Henry Knowles, for one, and that the lists "crossed the line between acceptable and unacceptable marketing techniques." And many financial experts were out toward the stock, citing uncertainty in the airline industry. But, ended by the allegedly privatised shares, thousands of Canadian savers decided to buy. The sale generated \$225.5 million for the state—but shareholders have been less lucky. Originally priced at \$18, the stock rose briefly to just under \$19 when trading between stockbrokers began in early October. Since its stock exchange listing in mid-October, it has fallen, closing last week at \$7.86. Now, investors are seriously sweating. Air Canada's third-quarter results this week. If they differ significantly from the company's optimistic projections, the price could drop even further.

Some observers have placed blame for the stock's disappointing performance on the uncertainty surrounding the Nov. 21 federal election. If the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney fails to win a majority or is not re-elected, the fate of the government's remaining 50-per-cent holding will be unclear. That prospect unnerves some investors who say that they are wary of government intervention in the company's affairs.



Looking all airlines face intense new competition



But most analysts say that intense competition in the airline industry is the primary reason for the depressed share price. According to Frederick Larkin, analyst for broker Alfred Besting & Co Ltd in Toronto, industry deregulation means more competition among airlines. That is forcing stronger Canadian airlines to increase service and cut prices.

Edie Lester, managing director of Canadian Airlines International Ltd and Air Canada's chief executive, has avoided the stock. Gary Callcott, senior vice-president of Toronto-based Jones Reward Investment Management Inc., says that Air Canada was "not worth buying in the first place." Callcott pointed to Air Canada's plans to spend \$3.4 billion for new capital purchases in the next five years, including 34 French-built Airbus A-320 aircraft and the remaining payments for seven Boeing 767s. That kind of "carter" "scared the pants off of us," Callcott said. He also dismissed the launch advertising campaign as "sophy."

In addition, events in the industry have depressed the stock of most major Canadian airlines. Nesterle Inc. is moving strongly into the lucrative business-crown market with more regularly scheduled

>Loading costs onto an Air Canada DC-8 is readability.

flights. WestJet is now offering 31 percent discounts on flights of 10 or more miles. At the same time, it is spending \$1 billion on new planes and is not expected to earn profit this year.

Competitors Canadian Airlines International Ltd and Air Canada are fighting to keep up. Last week, Air Canada increased the number of bonus points for frequent flyers so that they now earn four miles for every mile flown. But Donald Reed, president of Toronto-based Toronto Real Estate Management Inc., says that high-salaried employees do not necessarily mean high profits. Discounted seats and frequent-flier programs, which reward customers with free tickets, mean lower revenues for each seat. Meanwhile, Canadian's partner, PCL Corp., of Calgary, reported poor third-quarter earnings at the end of October, costing a ripple effect in the industry. When such negative results are reported, said Reed, "very often you will see stocks fall off in the same industry."

Still, many individual investors were persuaded that the shares were an attractive purchase. The sale was a sell-off, an unusual event for new issues since the stock market collapse on Oct. 19, 1987. Although price figures have not been released, most observers estimate that the majority of buyers was done by small, long-term investors, while many large institutions, including pension funds,

have remained on the sidelines, waiting to assess the airline's performance.

Larry Loos, chairman of Vancouver-based private fund manager Canadian First & Last Investment Management Ltd., added that because of concerns about securities market stability and the stock market crash, and the stock's price showing no life, subsequent purchasers who might have helped to support the price are likely to stay away, at least until after the federal election or until there are signs of improvement in the overall industry. As a result, the shares are expected to stay below the issue price of \$8. That cost, plus some unanticipated expenses, could cause become unattractive to investors. Investment dealer Murray Anderson, of Anders Research Capital Inc. and that as Air Canada shares have dropped in recent weeks, "there are people who will think they have been taken by the government."

Investor caution is also reflected in success that the Liberal government may take an unconventional stance with Air Canada. The Conservative government has stated that it would issue its 45 per cent as though it were a non-participatory investor. Liberal transportation critic Brian Topp told *Maclean's* last week that a Liberal government would probably not change the present ownership structure, but that it would ensure Air Canada is responsible to the transportation needs of the country—as well as its shareholders.

Meanwhile, the ordinary investor is caught in a bewildering cross fire between market forces and political instability. Princeton fund manager Robert Kroszak, chairman of Toronto-based Transcan Investment Management Inc., said that the share price reflects several factors. "They may have had politics in mind, but the company had to raise a lot of money." On the other hand, said Kroszak, people bought because "the stores were being sold in something cheap that were going to go up."

Despite the disappointing losses, no investors have an axe to grind compared to the federal government. Sen. Thomas Van Dusen, a spokesman for Donald Macdonald, deputy prime minister and privatization minister, "Most people are sophisticated enough to realize that the price can go down." For thousands of optimistic Canadian investors, that is an unpleasant reality they have already learned to live with.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM with JOHN BALL

Business Notes

DISCOUNT CLEANUP

It sounds like federal government reticence: announced that they had found traces of dioxin in Ontario mills produced as a byproduct of certain, representatives of the Canadian pulp-and-paper industry said that producers will spend up to \$300 million over the next two years to eliminate sources of dioxin in their products.

MICROSWAP KRAFT

The U.S. paper giant continued its food-court expansion. Kraft Inc. agreed to a \$15.7-million buy-out by cigarette manufacturer Philip Morris Cos. Inc. The total value of mergers and acquisitions in the United States in the first nine months of this year reached a record \$227 billion.

MACKENZIE TAKES MACKINNON

After months of resisting, MacKenzie Inc. of New York City has agreed to accept British publisher Robert Maxwell's \$3-billion offer for the giant publishing and information firm.

HOUSE-PRICE FORECAST

Canadian house prices will rise by six per cent next year in a favourable average of \$15,300, according to a survey released by realtor Royal LePage Ltd.

PRIME DOWNTURN

The Conference Board of Canada predicted that economic growth in the Prairies will fall off dramatically next year because of falling oil prices and the effects of this year's drought on grain crops.

SKYSCAPE FOR SALE

Saint-Rémi and Co. announced that it will sell its 118-store Chez-à-beurre chain—the world's tallest bakery—at part of a major corporate restructuring. The sale is expected to yield up to \$3.35 billion for the giant retailer.

SOVIET FISCAL POLICY

Soviet economic planners said that they hope to avoid major increases in consumer prices next year despite the fact that the government is trying to reduce a \$65-billion budget deficit. The Soviet government also wants to avoid confrontation over increasing prices.

CAMPBELL RATE INCREASE

In an effort to attract investors, Federal Department Stores Inc. has increased the interest rate on a \$900-million bond offering to 7.75 per cent from 7.44 per cent. The money is needed to help finance Toronto real estate acquire Robert Campbell's \$2.5-billion takeover of Federated last May.

A gusher of black gold

Hunter makes a milestone B.C. oil find

It was an impressive sight—and a spectacular reminder that taking risks still pays off in the Canadian oil industry. On Oct. 31, as British Columbia Premier William Vander Zanden and his wife, Linda, watched, James Gray, the stocky vice-president of Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd., ignited a thundering gas well near Bransby Creek, B.C., sending a plume 500 feet into the gray afternoon sky. The fire was a fitting way for Calgary-based Hunter and partner Amarcos Inc. to celebrate the discovery of one of the largest natural-gas fields in recent Canadian history. And it underscored a future of hope for Canada's beleaguered oil and gas sector, which has been suffering falling crude prices for almost two years.

Last week's announcement was a dramatic preface to the joint venture between Canadian Hunter and us, which has spent \$100 million since 1985 developing oil and gas prospects and acquiring land near Dawson Creek, in the province's vast Peace River country. The Bransby oilfield, which geologists say holds more than 20 million barrels of oil, will dramatically increase Hunter's production and it could act as a stepping stone for Hunter and us to develop further oilfields in the surrounding area. The discovery is also important to British Columbia, which has large natural-gas reserves but, until now, little oil. And Hunter's strike is also a promising development for officials at other Canadian exploration companies, many of whom had concluded that all of Western Canada's big conventional oil and gas fields had already been found. See Wilfred Gilbert, an oil analyst with the Calgary-based brokerage firm Peters and Co. Ltd.: "Exploration companies can hold up Bransby as an example of the type of discoveries that are still out there."

Hunter, which is 87 per cent owned by Toronto-based resource giant Noranda Inc., has made other big strikes in the past. In 1984, it was responsible for discovering one of the biggest natural-gas fields in Western Indo-

nesia between 5,000 and 7,000 barrels a day—but have raised the prospect of other high-quality reservoirs being found in the area. Said John Massey, Hunter's president: "Bransby is a nice-sized oilfield but its most significance is that it may lead to new fields in the area."

Even the sharp decline in world oil prices—\$19.86 a barrel now from \$23.80 a year ago—has not dampened the enthusiasm of Hunter or its Cleveland-based partner. Although the Bransby field sits in 30,000 feet below ground—making production relatively expensive—the oil is light and clean, and, as a result, by the time the field hits its expected peak production in June, 1988, each barrel of oil should qualify for the best price available. Said B.C. Energy Minister Jack Davis: "Oil is refined by nature—it is the best."

The B.C. treasury will also benefit from the find. As an incentive, British Columbia will forgive petroleum royalties for two years after production begins from the field. After that, the province will get 20 per cent of the sale price for each barrel of crude—up to a maximum of \$3.27 per barrel, or at current prices, \$8.70. John Atles, British Columbia's assistant deputy minister of energy—British Columbia's one major third-quarter of oil is oil. The Bransby field means a lot more money will be flowing in the province."

Hunter and us have also announced the startup of their new \$24 million natural-gas processing plant 80 km south of Dawson Creek. The Koal gas operation, which will have the capacity to process 350 million cubic feet of gas per day, will strengthen the province's campaign for a larger share of the rapidly growing U.S. gas market as well as the recently deregulated western Canadian market.

Still, the outlook for the Canadian oil industry is not promising. Although the federal government recently announced that it would spend billion financing new energy projects, including shale-oil and heavy-oil projects in Alberta, a chronic shortfall of capital in the industry has left dozens of international western oil explorers announced. A spokesman for the Calgary-based Canadian Association of Oilfield Drilling Contractors said that in the end of October, there were 242 drydrill rigs in Western Canada, compared to 362 rigs during the same period last year. Meanwhile, some industry analysts are predicting that oil prices could fall below \$13 per barrel, and that would cause a further slowdown in the oil industry. But discoveries such as Bransby at least allow optimists to dream that better days lie ahead.

JOHN DAWSON with JOHN MURPHY in Dawson Creek



Hunter's Gray (left) and Vander Zanden a gusher of hope





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INTRODUCING A SEDAN WITH THE HEART OF A LION

Making history

The new Miss Canada says she wants all Canadians to take note of who she is. Last week, Juliette Powell, 18, a nutritionist, became the first nonwhite contestant to win the beauty pageant in its 43-year history. The Montreal-area college commerce student and part-time fashion



Powell: an ugly duckling with glasses

model was born in New York City but grew up in Ville d'Avray, an eastern Montreal suburb. "I was an ugly duckling," recalled the six-foot-tall son of more than \$115,000 in prizes and scholarships. "I towered over everyone, and wore these terrible thick glasses!" Still, adds Powell, who entered the 48-contestant Miss Canada competition in Miss Laurentides, "If you believe in yourself, it doesn't matter about color or anything else, you'll be a winner."

True love of a fisherman

What began as American writer Bobbie Igloos's attempt to explain the joys of fishing turned into an account of a great Canadian love story. Igloos says that she started to write an article about life with the eccentric, mystic

old B.C. salmon fisherman John Daly—whom she married in 1974—partly to tell people why she left Manhattan, where she worked as a writer for The New Yorker, and moved to the remote fishing village of Gordon Bay on Pender Island, 75 km northwest of Vancouver. Her

Igloos, romance as writing



work evolved into a recently published book, *Fishing with John*, which chronicles the couple's 4½-year epicurean life aboard a 41-foot trailer until Daly's death from a heart attack in 1978 at 65. Igloos says that their romance unintentionally slipped into her writing. "I guess I loved John so much that it just came through."

African mission

For Canada folk singer Bruce Cockburn, fulfilling his desire to visit Africa was an experience filled with sadness. Cockburn, 42, says that he was outraged by the poverty and civil strife that he witnessed during a recent 25-day trip to Mozambique sponsored by the aid organization Compassion Canada International. Says Cockburn, now on a speaking tour for the organization: "The trip would have been fantastic if not for the country's tragic situation."

Cockburn: a dream filled with sadness



TALES OF THE UNEXPECTED

From the wacky Atlantic Ocean to the mythical West, Canada is haunted by the supernatural, according to Toronto author John Robert Colombo, 52, who since 1987 has been collecting reports of odd encounters, omens and other inexplicable phenomena for his soon-to-be-released book, *Mysterious Canada*. Colombo says that there are many more tales from Canada's northwoods than the 500 included in his book. "There could be a book of ghost stories," he adds. "For every community in the country."

Penny-wise

While Senator William Tramont, born on Capitol Hill as Senator Strom, is not the American ballot this week, Considered a lightning rod by his Senate peers for opposing most spending bills, Tramont, 71, in retiring to write about economics. He made wasteful government spending a national pete when he set up his monthly Golden Penny Awards in March, 1975. One unusual award went to a more-than-\$300,000 study on how liquor affects the liver. True to form, not after 31 years of attempting to see the natural light, Tramont says, "I am a man-of-no-worth whatever."



Tramont: studying liquor and life



WHEN ONLY THE FINEST WILL DO

PRINCE CHARLES COMES OF AGE

CHARLES AT 40 IS HIS OWN MAN WITH NEW CONFIDENCE — AND RESPECT

From the moment of his birth, Prince Charles has set precedents. He was the first direct heir to the throne of Britain, Canada and other Commonwealth countries to be born without the permission of a senior cabinet minister to verify the identity of the royal baby (the tradition stemmed from 17th-century suspicions that a maid had supposedly born to James II's wife, Queen Mary, was not her child). Charles was also the first heir to go to school outside the royal household, the first to attain a university degree, the first to paint a jet—and the first to modern times to choose his bride from outside the narrow circle of European royalty. Late last month, the prince added another first to the long list by becoming the first royal to host his own major television program. That itself would draw attention, but Charles aroused even greater interest by using the opportunity to wade directly into controversy. As millions of British watched, the prince took them on a 75-minute televised tour of some of their country's biggest cities—and launched a scathing attack on the property developers and architects who have inflicted what he called "terrible damage" on them.

For Charles, it was the latest salvo in a campaign that he has waged for more than four years against the depredation of British cities. But it was by far most effective attack, combining persuasive arguments with shrewd presentation. And coming just 27 days before he celebrates his 40th birthday on Nov. 14, it

won the prince high praise and burnished his image as a thoughtful critic of modern British society.

After spending much of his 30s wrangling with a deep sense of personal inadequacy, being pilloried for his urban-eccentric interests, and seeking stability in a sometimes troubled marriage, Charles at 40 seems to have emerged with new confidence—and new poise, too. "He has spent the last seven years since he got married sorting his head out," said Robert Muggleton, editor of the British magazine *Royalist Mustard*. "Now, Charles has become his own man."

For the prince, that has not come easily. Just one year ago, his personal life was under unprecedented scrutiny—and he was treated with open contempt by Britain's powerful upper class. Charles was portrayed as a wastrel beret-wearing critically between environmental enthusiast and organic gardener and Jacque philosopher and bouts of hand-wringing self-pity over his lack of a clearly defined public role. His wife, Diana, Princess of Wales, was widely regarded as an empty-headed fashion plate, and their marriage was said to be on the verge of breaking down. The royal favorite was then Sarah Ferguson, the Duchess of York, just back from a tour of Canada with her husband, Prince Andrew, the Duke of York.

A year later, the tables have turned. The towering image of the world's most celebrated family is the British media's hottest continuing story—and it seems to need a constant supply of headlines and villains. While Charles and Diana now bask in the glow of positive publicity, the various royal-watchers of the tabloid press have turned their guns on Fergie. Indeed, they gleefully pronounced in September when she left her six-week-old daughter, Beatrice, in London to accompany Prince Andrew on a week-long tour of Australia: "Discredited the Daily Express' 'soirée a national disgrace.'

In stark contrast, the Princess of Wales has become more poised and apparently more serious-minded. Blessed with slim good looks, Diana has been the unquestioned star of the royal show since she became engaged to Charles in 1981. But the program was

broadened; a left-wing Labour member of Parliament, Ronald Brown, invited the prince to join his party, saying that Charles was "plainly more left wing than some of the people already in the party." In fact, the prince's policies never are closer to traditional, pro-Thatcher Conservative values.

In every way, however, Charles has broken with tradition. And the way he plans to mark his 40th birthday is no exception. Audit trails his regular public appearances, he is actively involved in about half a dozen organizations under the umbrella of the Prince's Trust that

raise money to help young people in Britain's inner cities. He will underline those concerns on Nov. 14, when he is scheduled to attend a birthday party with 1,500 young people in an old streetcar shed in a run-down part of the central English city of Birmingham that has been renovated with money from the trust.

The 40-year-old Charles has added Mr. Clinton's personal touch to his birthday, which means his annual appearance to the throng. By the time he turned 40—in April, 1986—his mother had been Queen for 24 years. But with the Queen showing no sign of aging, her job at

62, Charles faces the likelihood of many more years in the undefined job of Prince of Wales. For years, he agonized privately and publicly about what that role should be. Now, as he enters his fifth decade, he appears to have put that behind him. Sir Peter Snow, author of the 1980 biography *Charles*, "Finally he is beginning to grow older in ways, which is to be expected with serenity." For a man whose behavior has been so tightly bound by unspoken rules, that is itself a significant achievement.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London



CHARLES III—IN WAITING

THE PRINCE IS TAKING RISKS

The subject of thousands of articles and dozen of books, Prince Charles is one of the world's most closely watched celebrities—but perhaps one of the least understood. A man who has often emulated the behavior of the Prince of Wales, British author Anthony Holden is one of the most perceptive and interesting chroniclers of Britain's Prince. He meets another: Diana, Princess of Wales, and is published on Sept. 14 to coincide with the prince's 40th birthday. An excerpt:

In the early hours of June 12, 1987, after Margaret Thatcher had been her third consecutive term as prime minister in the British general election, her first thought was of assessing a forecast. She was using by her party's electoral losses in the most deprived urban areas of Britain, and for all the euphoria of a victory unprecedented in this century, her first public act that night was to make the plight of Britain's more than the most urgent priority of her new government. When she gave this emotional pledge to party workers from the staircase of the Conservative party's central office in London even as the votes were still being counted, the prime minister's words could be taken to represent a remarkable political victory for, among others, the Prince of Wales.

For 10 years, Prince Charles had made it his business to travel to areas of the greatest deprivation in the United Kingdom, to talk to those whose lives could not be a starker contrast to his own, and to offer comfort and assistance. He was not only anxious to draw attention to the plight of the unemployed and the homeless, of racial and religious minorities, of poor people otherwise bereft of hope for the future. He was also keen to devise ways of providing the emotional and financial support they so often seemed to be denied by Britain's local or central governments.



Charles and Diana in happier times: indifference

Through the Prince's Trust—a fund launched with his own money—Charles had been sponsoring grants to youth projects throughout the land, followed up by personal visits to give young people the chance to see for themselves that the money was being used to good use. Ten years later, he was still advancing much more ambitious terrain.

The prince's first full decade in public life had seen him become Britain's most visible royal. As the Thatcher government's hard-line monetarist policies raised unemployment to record levels, bring deeper into the lives of those on or below the poverty line, he was presented by the writers of Britain's constitutional monarchy from varying very nearly political protest. But he was acutely

aware, as much from the example of some recent predecessors as from his own close study of British history, that he was in no unique position to appear to the public as a source of guidance. The heir to the throne may have no political power, but he has considerable influence.

He can speak, in short, for the people, though he must do so in the root-conservative style, avoiding the slightest hint of involvement in party politics. Yet Charles is uniquely well informed and has a uniquely comprehensive platform. As last apparent this Prince of Wales uses confidential cabinet papers and has a well informed about day-to-day political issues. As a survey counsellor—an advisor to Queen Elizabeth—he can air his views confidentially in senior politicians of the day. But he can never make up public statement over remotely sensible teachings of political law. For a man who cares passionately about the issues over which he will see day almost entirely right—and who, through his consistent trench regard Britain, is in much closer touch with its problems than most government ministers—the solutions placed upon him can prove very frustrating.

At times, perhaps too often, Charles is capable of letting his frustration show from a private bushes, at which he complained to a group of newspaper editors of his lifelong struggle against royal protocol, recalled an even more poignant look 18 years ago from a dinner host to his honor by cabinet ministers in the Labour Party government of Prime Minister James Callaghan. Not long before, Charles told them, a tourist on an Australian Queen service jet had had the nerve to come over and say to him, "What a rotter, boring you're not?" The government ministers laughed sympathetically. "But you don't understand," said the prince urgently. "She was right!"

Unlike his companion that night, Charles has not sought public office, even public prominence; his late son election to a position of power and influence. It has been thrust upon him by the accident of his birth and made most painful by the nature of the British Constitution to define a public role for the Prince of Wales. The constitution's unwritten rules are eloquent on what he must not do—but silent as to what he should.

For many of Charles's contemporaries, that proved a lesson for prudently delicate and professional humility, to be it. "I like to stir strands of his private and public lives seem to be converging in this one central mission. After years of indecisive dabbling, he is developing a coherent world view which he is anxious to put to practical use. In the choice of the quality of life for every Briton he has finally found a public purpose to his own. With some relief the prince has assumed his political legitimacy and set forth into the unknown."

If it courts controversy, ruffles complacent feathers, experts vented interests or seasons professional hostility, to be it. "I like to stir

the water," says Edward Heath, the former surviving member of his three-party government, who, in 1986, has commented he had "overdone it. He will go down in history, as he is remembered as a Prince of Wales who used his office to enhance the country's good."

Everything else in his life now subordinates to that goal. At home, when he is uninterested or his actions are unpredictable, he can grow angry and disengaged, even though he more than anyone else is a master of "padding it all in." But there, monarchically, he carries on the his wife and children. His offstage enthusiasm from his supporters all take a cool place under public scrutiny. Only in the last few years has Charles finally defined the terms both for his personal philosophy and for his public role. Now that he has, he is putting his confirmed past behind him and pursuing his future with a almost monomaniacal zeal.

In the summer of 1982, as he left the hospital with his first non-Prince William, when Diana and his wife rode, Princess Diana, at his side, Charles seemed at last to have found the happiness and fulfillment he sought so long. The reason, pushed the royal commentators in the British press, was that his was the first "unruffled" marriage of a Prince of Wales in British history. But was it? In the succeeding ten years, as the marriage has all too publicly developed its problems, there has been growing dissatisfaction with this view. "In many ways," said Harold Brooks Baker, editor of *Princess*, the authoritative reference book on the British nobility, "it was an arranged marriage. He needed a lovely wife, and she fitted the bill. Diana was an unashamed 29-year-old only eager to marry him."

Within months of their marriage, it became clear that Diana was rapidly changing her headland in a number of ways. After persuading him to give up sports that she disapproved of, including shooting and stamping—though not, in her opinion, polo—the married up his mate, put some color into his socks and ties, got his hair under the blow dryer, brought him some basic stamps and helped him gain some in touch with the values of his own generation. "We're only as young as you think you are," said a grueling Charles, presumably unadjusted for many years already. "Diana will help me young." Even more significantly, she liberated him sufficiently from his royal straitjacket to unashamedly wear miniskirts and freedom the alternative "back to nature" values and personal choices close to his heart.

Charles has soon taken eighteenth-century "Oh, do grow up" and Queen when he told her! He also explored and championed holistic medicine. Prince Charles, an untrained British scientist and author, helped him design a wildflower garden at Highgrove, Charles's country house, 100 miles west of London, about which he



Punting in Japan pursuing the natural inclinations of an inquiring mind

dilettante. As a result, the history of the 20 English Princes of Wales before Charles is not particularly distinguished. But the latter had of the 19th century had his confronted by a prince determined to change all that.

By the late 1980s, Charles was placing himself squarely at the center of the contemporary political battleground. As his own personal philosophy has matured, so has his public work, as the scale of his issues has grown, so has his sense of his position as a unique measure of his human relationships, to my eyes that he has developed ideas above his station. How to the

things up," Charles has said, "To throw a powdered royal look through the morning glaze glass of pompous professional pride and pump脚尖 into the land of snippets of red tape which edges this country from sea end to the other."

Charles is a man of high pretensions. Since his days as a Cambridge University undergraduate, he has had a powerful ambition to make his mark. It is tempting of him, when his sense of his position makes measure of his human relationships, to my eyes that he has developed ideas above his station. How to the

became obscurer. At the heart of the Highgate garden, he designed and built himself a sewer in which to meditate and write. He began to practice organic farming on his Duddy of Cornwall meadows in southern England and soon to regret states living the life of a Cornwall dairy farmer or a Haberdash's manufacturer again," suggested publisher Rupert Murdoch's *Newspaper* "The Sun."

The press outcry was greatly aided by persistent stories to suggest public concern, much of it unfounded. Was the future king becoming a bit of a crank? Among those who thought so was his half-brother Diana's ex-husband, Prince Philip, who had never had much time for matters of the spirit, and who now worried that married life with Diana was turning his eldest son "soft." The word "swoop" was even heard on Prince Philip's lips. Virtuous in his office in Buckingham Palace, noted two photographs of his daughter—Princess Anne—one displaying but none at all of his other children. When Charles cut down on his public engagements, recruiting ever further into himself, Philip went so far as to tell his disapproving public by referring to me weeks to visit his newborn grandchild, Prince Harry—the second child of Charles and Diana, who was born at 2:04 AM that time. Diana had also made an enemy of Princess Anne, who might have expected to be one of Harry's godmothers. Rather than attend her nephew's christening, Anne chose to spend the day at home shooting rabbits.

The Queen smoothed things over between father and son. But Philip remains deeply suspicious of Diana's influence on at least he thought he had programmed to resist his own nonconformist, about-the-top style. Even today, as a 46-year-old father of two, Charles can still be reduced to tears by the hitherto effortless.

In his youth, the prince had been adventurous enough to earn himself the nickname of "Royal Action Man." For all his pretensions at the time, he rather enjoyed his reputation as the Playboy Prince, always out partying, playing polo, windsurfing and doing that

the price of avoiding his outdoors-loving father was that he became more conservative in his attitudes both public and private. Now, at last, with his newfound liberation from Philip's shadow, Charles was becoming able to take traditional risks as well as physical ones. Marriage to Diana had finally freed him—either

Charles had explored his interest in spiritualism with the medium Wedderburn Radford, the short answer is no. The Diana board was subsequently arrested at a Fleet Street pub by a British journalist on orders from an American scandal sheet to come up with a front-page lead overnight. When the British



Young British troops in 1987: a man of high seriousness who feels a deep sense of duty

*W*ith some
relish the
prince has
mounted his
political tight-
rope and set
forth into the
unknown

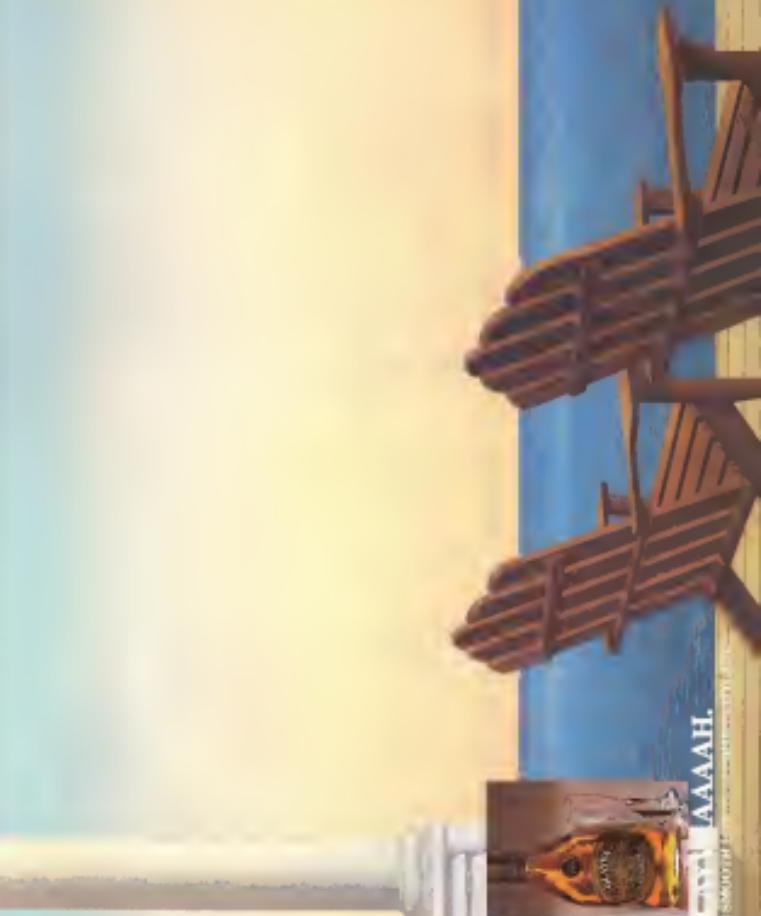
later than most young men—from life at home under the powerful sway of his parents, and the values of their generation. The thoughtful, even somewhat eccentric prince whom his future subjects now saw for the first time was the real one, his natural self—looking perhaps in a perpetual version of the adolescence he had never had, but able and anxious to pursue the natural inclinations of his inspiring mentor.

Button warned us that outgrowing a son does not mean outgrowing the father. In fact, the urban deprived, which was his lot in the middle of the night clutching with the homeless street-dwellers of London. But they worried about the implications. Had Charles really been trying to talk his much-maligned uncle, Lord Louis Mountbatten—the assassinated by Irish Republican Army bomb in 1979—into maturing and even Diana's board? Though it was true that

popular press gleefully picked up the story, and the cartoons had their fun with it, its widespread acceptance did the prince's odds harm. But the simple truth is that Charles, when he heard about it, did not even know what a Diana board was.

The prince had, however, retreated far enough from his own heraldic public profile for the nation to grow concerned. When the American millionaire Armand Hammer went to lunch at Highgrove, he emerged with the news that a had consumed entirely of organically prepared vegetables. Charles boasted that he had grown them himself and apparently cared of little else. The prince's public appearances grew increasingly less and were little publicized. At first delighted to be relieved by Diana of the commanding spotlight he had reached all his life, he had grown weary of—and somewhat irritated by—the open disapprobation of crowds if he arrived without her. The Queen, the prince and their staffs, and indeed the pressmen around all believed that the public's considerable interest in Diana would subside, at most, a couple of years. They were evidently sanguine when it continued to grow to accomodatable proportions and to assume royal, inevitably enough, in less pleasant ways.

It did not take long for the rumors of trouble to surface. First it was reported that Diana had become pregnant. Then newspaper reports said that she was spending all of Charles's money in wild shopping sprees when with her mother. Then the was reported to be grav-





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long about the royal way of life, dragging Charles back from the Royal Family's annual holiday at Scotland's Balmoral Castle, shutting herself away from the clamor of royal life behind the headstones of her gold-plated Sony Walkman. Though exasperated at the time, the rumors were accurate: Diana was won't constantly about her weight, and had in the meantime gained a math of pregnancy grown possibly thin, as she worked to her new role as international fashion model. She does enjoy shopping, especially for expensive clothes.

The most dramatic point where it has become what Fleet Street calls "fetid trashy," Diana does prefer the sunshines of the Maldives or Miami, where King Juan Carlos of Spain keeps style open house in the grey mountain weather of the Sierra Nevada, and a schedule of luxury outdoor pursuits by day and dances by night, with the world's most formidable, least escapable in-laws. The first time she left Balmoral, leaving Charles behind her, it was with just two words, "Sister, Sister."

At the 12-year age gap between them, though it's still, it also because clear that Diana did not get on with her husband's friends, mostly her former fiancées' pals. There followed a series of illustrations illustrating the differences in their interests and enthusiasm—most vividly the night of abandoned Charles at a surf bar and at rock singer Bob Geldof's 1985 Live Aid concert in London, while Diana's first tapped to the music beat as the rest of the world's youth. After only an hour, Charles dragged Diana away to watch a polo game, telling his charwoman that she had packed him in—"so we can make joshua."

In her first few years as a princess, Diana had been

overjoyed by her own publicity. Perhaps never before in the history of personality cults had someone become so famous and adored simply by existing. Diana was one of the world's best-known and best-loved women before she had uttered even 100 words in public,

couple held a series of private banquets at their home in London's Kensington Palace for newspaper editors, in an attempt to satisfy the privacy of its children. But one rabid newspaper editor is honored still published a photograph of one of the royal baby carriage on his front page the very next day.

And rock-star status can understand the workings of the press, as Diana had difficulty with various apparently silly royal traditions. She studiously refrained by taking Prince William on a royal tour of Australia and New Zealand, as the Queen would have the children attend—a defiance of the established custom of having royal children at home. But even she was beginning to see the practical sense as much as the protocol behind royal customs and practice. Gradually, Diana grew into a more conventional royal, while, at the same time, closely preserving her own individuality. It was the natural Diana, for instance, who excitedly rushed across a room to greet the pop singer Boy George, despite the awkward fact that he was being drug charges at the time, as opposed to the ever more formal princess who greeted other and senior figures with a photogenic smile and a confident handshake. Soon she was adding to the endearing list of charities and public organizations to benefit from her support. A visit to Britain's first AIDS ward, in which she conspicuously refused to wear gloves when shaking hands with victims of the disease, did much to dispel public fear and misunderstanding of the disease.

Already her detractors had forgotten that she had come from a home bigger than all the royal residences outside London. She learned little of the journey among the public that might have been expected, because of her unapologetic, girl-next-door innocence, strictly in the you-can-be-a-princess tradition. But Diana did not erosion that kind of princess for long. Even before the emergence of a potential rival in the shape of nadie's Sarah Ferguson, who was Charles's brother Andrew in 1986 to become the Duchess of York, she had carefully transformed herself—by her expansive taste in clothes, of course, showing off a playful personality that many find who live in Pali

A very 19th-century

Figure, Charles increasingly wanted out of the modern world

A various reader of her own newspaper clippings, the princess had soon fallen into the old trap of beginning to believe them. As they turned into, however, to did she, spurning the pretensions she had previously cultivated. Diana strummed to be protective, but there are always limits to what even he can do. The



Dancing in Brazil in 1978; a faded reputation as the Playboy Prince

Diana carries and are too fragile to be touched by human hand. It was a secret threat to the public relations juggling act Diana, then 27, had carefully maintained through an uncertain year and a半 a turbulent year.

Diana was taking charge. Her image proved no world superstar was greater, but her self-confidence she had already lost. As she mastered the art of the royal public appearance, she began to take in almost salacious pleasure in upstaging her husband at every occasion private and public. For every new speech he made, she would wear a different hair-style or hat. Photographers, she knew, were much more interested in her than Diana, still, were the crowds, who continued to groan if Charles rather than Diana headed in their direction. Charles's increasing distress, however, sprung from more than merely an understatedably laundred royal ego. The public's appetite for details of the Princess of Wales's hair, her clothes, her hats, her costume issues, descended into anything he might do or say. For a man desperate to be taken seriously, the tidal wave of trivia became deeply mortifying.

As his preoccupation grew ever more earnest, so here grew more irrational. While Charles deserved the modern London skyline, Diana frequented British shows and dress rehearsals. Whenever Charles toured Britain's blighted inner cities, on a social campaign that became his central cause in life, his presence was nearly at his side. Here, she had long since realized, was a genuine power, both over her public and her husband. It was best preserved by spending her rounds as little as possible, and best explained by noting delighted bystanders, as she did on one occasion: "I'm in thick in a pink." That celebrated remark proved just how savvy and judicious Diana really was, while mimicing the empty-headedness of which her predecessors had notoriously deplored. Inhabiting the temperate gardens of a friend's country house, she negotiated her foreign liaison in her excellent English. "My father believed in educating girls," she explained. "I

Diana began to take an almost sadistic pleasure in upstaging her husband



The Wales family in Majorca also had liberating him to be himself.

another, simply "disappears." But Charles was no longer the man Diana had married. What first, she had fallen in love with him, her prince had been a stylish James Bond-style contemporary hero, the world's most eligible bachelor; now, while Diana's effect on him, by the standard of manners, had become to express that intimacy as a self-delighting show. She had liberated Charles to be himself—lavished, self-indulging, almost monkish whimsy, a man of even more fervored love, bowed down by the accident of his birth, born in a century which he ominously misinterpreted. A very 19th-century figure, he increasingly wandered out of the modern world. All Diana's James Bond washes now was to be an organic human.

In Australia in January, 1986, when the couple's tour reached Melbourne, a visit to a music college was one of the highlights of an otherwise uneventful day. Conducted by the teacher who had given her cell lessons when she attended Australia's Geelong private school as a boy, Charles learned, with a sinking heart, that he would have to play for the class of music students and photographers assembled at the school. It was, he could quickly see, a setup with grand grace—going the cameras, both still and moving, the apparent highlight of their day. Diana stood back watching, open on the move, unused to surrendering creative stage to her husband.

Then, even as he was still in mid-photo opportunity, the princess paused. Standing between the piano and the cameras, Diana made for a grand piano in the far corner of the room, taking the eyes of the listeners with her. She assumed the piano cover, lifted the lid and broke haltingly into the opening bars of Rachmaninoff's second piano concerto, still lodged in her memory from her school days. The audience, of course, was breathless. Never before had the Princess of Wales played the piano in public. (An aide later confirmed this, adding that she occasionally played in the evenings to "entertain the Queen.") Once the elderly pianist had pronounced her "very musical" and pleasant,

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and an unbroken one on his left cheek. Diana's smile was complete. Charles's return to the cell was always photographic history, castigated on the cutting-room floor. He had watched the entire episode with that knowing smile in his heart and a deep indifference in his eyes.

On the same trip, the press one day crossed an Australian beach—just—just the thing to cheer the photographers, whose hearts sink when he wears the same grey suit whenever he goes. In that rare alone, he might as well be in Scotland as in Spain, but in a shadow that he can only be in Australia, and in the entrepreneurial headgear every royal party or walk thousands of spectators turn of thousands of pounds. One known photographer, however, kept his discipline毫不松懈 in the process. He had photographed Diana for eight years, ever since the revealing "see through" dress shot of Diana in a London nursery school after her engagement to Charles was announced in 1981. He knew that even now, after being the world's number 1 cover girl throughout the 1980s, the princess's self-love knew no bounds.

Sure enough, the photographer saw Diana give him a smiling glance to make sure that he was watching. Then, unaccountably, she slid the hem of her skirt further and further up her leg—revealing, to this expert eye, "precisely in such nice tight than'd ever seen before." After another walking place, to make sure that he had got the point, and the pause, the royal haughty descended again. Then was confirmed the extraordinary truth that even Diana, Princess of Wales, over whom photographers have fought for nearly a decade, will still do anything to get her picture in the papers.

Diana's limited understanding of her constitutional role—she is soft, after all, only in her 20s—has left her at ease with the superstar rewards of being royal and honored with the welcome crowd of editors who are as private as she is. She has a husband who no longer understands her—her eyes, it seems, mostly look at her. In name, to be sure, she is wedded with a marriage of appetites, to a man who cannot share her youthful high-spiritedness, and who places an emphasis on his public life which is beyond her. Most of the time, it is all too clear, she is honored with love. More importantly, she is here in deeply

splendidly by his company to be alone, situated, seductive, and playing—alone to the point of spending weeks on end without his children. The single most striking index of the distance between them is that it is so out of character for Charles, one of the most dutiful of fathers, to convert to royal type and abandon his



At a 1986 Scottish festival, the succession of tedious royal duties often bears the princess

days at a time in their fleet of coaches. Diana—who, unlike her, has had a chance to live in the real world—is too devoted a mother even to do that.

And that, for the present, is where the matter rests. In the absence of any explanation

joined for the royalty out of their idleness. In the meantime, Charles's publicly stated views on social issues have been increasingly anti-opposition with Britain's Conservative prime minister, Margaret Thatcher. One morning last spring, the prime minister paid a call upon the Prince of Wales, at her request. Though he avoided either the announcement of the meeting or its significance, the audience was (most unusually) listed in that day's official Court Circular, because it was more than just a chat about snafus elsewhere. The discussion carried major constitutional implications, some of which would inevitably become public sooner or later.

There had for some time been rumors of bad blood between prince and prime minister. Until Thatcher launched her own mini-city crusade, on the day of her 1987 election victory, Prince Charles's frequent remarks about social decay and unemployment levels had seemed to carry an implicit criticism of her government's policies. There had been

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There had been
rumors of bad blood between prince
and prime minister

from Buckingham Palace, or from the press
itself. Charles's wife, after all, is a woman
who cannot share her youthful
high-spiritedness, and who places an emphasis
on his public life which is beyond her. Most of
the time, it is all too clear, she is honored with
love. More importantly, she is here in deeply

SPECIAL REPORT

in great public controversy, because the prince had chosen in public words carefully but carelessly, in fact, that *Reuter's* tallest press made catastrophic faults of themselves by suggesting that Charles might be given a seat in the cabinet to take responsibility for the country's nuclear effort. Only once had the prince assumed such effort to administer directly—ever Charles's most popular vision of one day reigning over a "United Britain." But these were Charles's own directly expressed views, rather than those of his friend Rodenock Mackay—who is president of the Royal Institute of British Architects—the prince would have been way out of bounds.

Thatcher, nevertheless, had come under pressure from her more right-wing party colleagues to curb the independent young pup's increasingly wayward conduct. In the House of Commons itself, Princes Charles was described by Tony Marlow, Conservative member of Parliament for Northampton South, as "wily to be king." Charles, besides, had grown up in the era of Conservative prime minister Harold Macmillan, as old-fashioned "One Nation" Tory whose period in office during the late 1950s and early 1960s was marked by a belief in the welfare state and as the basic principle that the state had a duty to inform and consult the less fortunate. Margaret Thatcher had spent almost a decade denigrating that philosophy and turning Britain into an even more free-market society. Having fundamentally reorganized many another major British institution, perhaps it was time the Thatcher government pacified the monarch as well.

But Thatcher, the grand daughter of a grocery-store operator, is herself a devout mouse chow. One of the reasons she is less liked personally by the present royal family than some of her recent predecessors is her excessive obsequiousness in their presence. The Queen and her private warden, Queenie, warn her to the respective homesickness of Harold Wilson and James Callaghan, the last two Labour prime ministers, and to the lack of real Conservative leaders Edward Heath and Margaret Thatcher. It would take more than a few passing fractions for her even to want to go down in history as the prime minister who assassinated the monarchy, thus participating in a national shaming.

Thatcher recalled Charles's frustrated early ambition to become governor general of Australia. With her new understanding of Charles's problems, she sympathised that Australian nationalism and other political factors had effectively ruled that out. But there were no such obstacles to his becoming a member of

British Crown colony of Hong Kong for the year of its life under British rule—just as believed Uncle Dickie, Lord Mountbatten, been the last Viceroy of India before its independence in 1948.

King Kong under a long-standing agreement, will be returned to Chinese sovereignty.

carrot, which the Prince of Wales had surely planted. The Hong Kong skyline was scarcely to his architectural taste, nor is it, though especially close in his wife's favoring later, but the symbolism—and the naming link with Mountstuart—struck home. It was precisely the clear-cut, overt public effect which he had deserved for so long. There were other, lesser possibilities in the meantime, like providing over-ruled investors, garden parties—the ritual flimflam of royalty which largely post-imperial Hong Kong was a highly attractive prospect, but it seemed a long time away.

Thatcher held out the tantalizing prospect of other substantial advances in the meantime, representing the Queen, for instance, at the annual Commonwealth prime ministers' conference. To Charing, the resources of what were now Britain's empire, and well into day he has entitled empires, are of paramount importance. He believes his mother's deep-seated belief that it is the young contemporary researcher's primary duty to preserve the Commonwealth and promote its interests. The only public disagreement between Elizabeth and Thatcher, so far, was over the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa. The Queen had been outraged by politicians' efforts to take the lead in supporting the African National Congress's political goals, whereas Thatcher's analysis of contemporary geopolitics placed the Commonwealth often takes last place behind the United States, USSR, the European Community and the Commerce Warfront in the British government's calculations of self-interest.

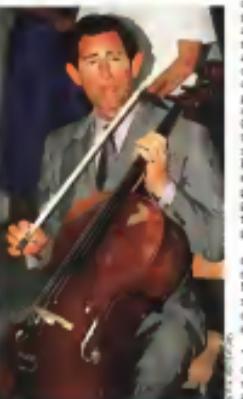
The monarch's stubborn resistance to the process was another reason argued to deprive the monarchy of its last, lingering fingerhold on political sway.

There was another very specific recent example of such disarray, as Thunders was at pains to point out to Prince Charles in November, 1987, at a conference of environmental managers from North Sea oil-producing countries, the environmental prince had denounced the North Sea as "a rubbish dump." *—Ruthless*

Following the meeting between Mrs Thatcher and the prince, the prime minister's office announced that this would be the first of many "consultative" meetings between her and the Prince of Wales. It was also made clear



Sarah and Andrew in Los Angeles, Charles (below) in Australia



A vintage advertisement for Tanqueray Special Dry Gin. The image features three bottles of the brand arranged in a cluster. In the foreground, a small bottle is positioned vertically, showing its label which reads 'IMPORTED TANQUERAY SPECIAL DRY GIN'. Behind it, a medium-sized bottle is shown horizontally, also labeled 'IMPORTED TANQUERAY SPECIAL DRY GIN'. In the background, a larger bottle is partially visible, with its label partially obscured by the others. All three bottles have a distinctive red circular logo on their necks. The background is a solid dark color, making the green glass of the bottles stand out.

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Charles and Mountbatten, with the Queen at a polo match. Family affairs take second place to the prince's public ambitions

that the government of Hong Kong would come only at a price. The government argued, reporters were told at a subsequent briefing, "that greater involvement in the nation's affairs will curb the prince's recent spate of outspoken attacks which have caused deep resentment in senior government departments."

It was clear what the prime minister had implied to Charles—and the boldness of his speech immediately after the meeting seemed to suggest that he had taken her point. For from even implicitly attacking government policy, the prince on one occasion even managed to praise trade and industry minister Kenneth Clarke by name. He was "very grateful," he said, "for the personal energy and enthusiasm which Mr Kenneth Clarke is putting into his whole operation from the government's side."

This was indeed a remarkable transformation. Ten days after the prince's meeting with the prime minister at Kensington Palace, however, Thatcher's finger was even more pointedly wagged at the prince by one of her most senior lieutenants, former cabinet minister and Conservative party chairman Norman Tebbit. The prince's concern over the inner cities, and Tebbit on Panorama, the British Broadcasting Corp.'s flagship current affairs program, could prove "dangerous" for the economy if he were to take it "too far." Tebbit even suggested that Charles's attitudes about the unemployed might derive from his own preoccupation hold on anything worth doing. Said Tebbit: "I suppose the Prince of Wales has some sympathy toward those who've got no job because it's a way he's got no job, and he's probably from having a job until he inherits the throne. He's 40, yet he's not been able to take responsibility for anything, and I think that's really his problem."

The characteristically snooty tone in Tebbit's voice carried uncanny echoes of the

The nation's universal mother—and the prince's own—was not going to see her sacred trust abused in this way by mere politicians.

out having mounted a like-minded successor, Tebbit's remarks began to sound increasingly like royal blackmail. If the prince assumed the crown damaged in front of him by the prime minister, said her most likely successor, he must heed the gospel according to Thatcher



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All Souls College, Oxford: a powerful mystique surrounds the university in Japan

EDUCATION

An ambitious appeal

Oxford embraces a new spirit of innovation

For the past eight centuries, students attending Britain's Oxford University have strolled the ancient streets of what the poet Matthew Arnold called "that sweet city with her dreaming spires." But within two years, one group of Oxford pupils may be studying at altogether different surroundings—the sprawling Japanese port city of Kobe. St. Catherine's, one of the 85 affiliated colleges that make up Oxford, is negotiating to set up a branch there in partnership with a Japanese company, Kure Steel Corp. The plan for a college in Kobe is both a sign of a new spirit of innovation at the once traditional university—and a response to the harsh economic climate imposed on British universities by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.

The new government policies have left Oxford seriously short of funds. In 1981, govern-

ment grants accounted for two-thirds of Oxford's annual income. That share is now just 45 per cent—and government loans are scheduled to decline by 2.5 per cent a year for another two years. As a result, the university cannot afford to fill 112 vacant teaching posts. Administrators have even suggested that it may be necessary for Oxford to abandon its nearly unique system of one-on-one tutorials for its 8,000 undergraduates. Said Henry Deacon, Oxford's director of development: "We are facing a serious deterioration in standards."

Oxford's success at shaking off its image of genteel complacency has not, however, eased the concerns of other university administrators. They point out that Oxford has a worldwide reputation to defend in management. But most of Britain's 83 other universities have fewer resources, while their financial woes are just as severe. Even at Oxford, some academics say that the fruits of the new innovation may not be evenly distributed. Although scientific research may benefit from private-sector funding, they say, the arts, sciences, humanities and classics continue to lose funding. "The entrepreneurial spirit at Oxford is overwhelming," said Broadbent, the master (headmaster) of St. Catherine's. "But we have to remember that our primary function is still teaching."

ANDREW PHILLIPS © 1982

corporations and Oxford graduates around the world. Unlike leading US universities, which have sophisticated fund-raising operations, Oxford had until even a couple of years ago none. Now, the university has compiled a list of 114,000 graduates, including 1,000 in Canada. "For many years, the funding was all靠fundraising," said Deacon.

"This certainly is not the case now."

By far the most ambitious plan at St. Catherine's is proposed for a college at Kobe. If the negotiations are successful, the college could open in 1986—the first outside Oxford's traditional limits since medieval scholars began teaching in the city about 90 km northwest of London in the mid-13th century. The Kobe campus would offer a one-year course in management studies and engineering to about 30 Japanese students, increasing their chances of being admitted to Oxford itself. Alan Taylor, a mathematics lecturer at St. Catherine's who travelled to September with Kobe Bank executives, said that a powerful mystique surrounds the Oxford name in Japan, giving the college a chance to tap new sources of funds.

Japanese money and innovative methods have also revived another legendary Oxford institution. The Oxford Union, the 156-year-old debating society where generations of students have honed their speaking skills, had last August in the early 1980s, with few members born and several defectors as high as \$200,000. It was brought back from the edge of collapse when its leaders launched aggressive recruitment drives and generated competition to sponsor debates—for a fee. The union's survival was ensured in September when a Japanese company, the Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corp., donated \$1 million to a pair of competing couples of 18th-century buildings.

Oxford is also putting its scientific resources to more profitable use. In September, the university formed Isis Innovation Ltd., a company designed to identify and market inventions arising from research carried out in the university's laboratories. But it looks for firms willing to pay for the rights to use Oxford-developed research and plans to divide profits between the university and the inventors. "It fits in with the spirit of the age," said Ian Heslop, managing director James Hollister. "There's much more entrepreneurial spirit about."

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BOOKS

Troubled journey

A Canadian Jew travels to the heart of Israel

THE GARDEN AND THE GUN
A JOURNEY INSIDE ISRAEL

By Bruce Paris
(Lester & Orpen Drage, 252 pages, \$15.95)

A though she speaks neither Hebrew nor Arabic, 50-year-old Toronto-based writer Bruce Paris is well equipped to write a book about Israel. She has chronicled the experience of the Jews in Canada and, more recently, the exan-



Paris: sensing the undercurrent of antisemitism

ment the problems of French Jewry in *Unsholed Roads: France and the Jewish Barber Affair*. As a Jew himself, Paris was aware at the time he wrote and describes himself as "a human with a deeply left commitment to Jewish history and an equally deeply left commitment to human rights." In his new book, *The Garden and the Gun*, Paris explains what his January, 1987, trip to Israel was an attempt to "glimpse the reality of a land that had always been a country of the mind."

No sooner had the author landed at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion airport than an event occurred that illustrated the country's difficult and dangerous nature. Paris describes how she got into a shiva—a shared taxi—headed for Jerusalem and then watched as an argument in Hebrew broke out on the crowded road

the car. A fellow passenger translated for her in Yiddish. She was refusing to get out the car with a woman. Within five minutes, her mother had told her that he was born in Vienna and had survived the Holocaust—and then asked her why she herself was not planning to settle in Israel. "It's question," she writes, "haunted me endlessly thereafter."

Paris was already experiencing the contradictions and pain that defines many Jewish visitors to Israel. Throughout her 10-week sojourn,

Paris's mother and son were under attack by Orthodox Jews. Working to gain a better understanding of the fundamental strains of Jewish tradition, the spent time in a yeshiva—or college, for the indoctrination of second-generation women wishing to return to the fold of orthodoxy. "Men died in silent thoughts, and women express those thoughts in the smile," a rabbi told the students. "Therefore it is obvious that women should learn less than men."

Paris interviewed a young Armenian woman, a former Catholic, for whom the lesson was not an obvious one and she attended the woman's ritual bath, marking her conversion to Orthodox Jewry. Paris also went to a traditional wedding ceremony, which she says she found moving but as "strange to me as a Zolti robe." But it was at a Sabbath meal in the now-majestic Orthodox home of a sometime dope-smoking American travelling salesman that she felt most at ease. "For the first time in my life," she recalled, "I had been perceived as essentially worth it. Only one attribute would have made me a worthwhile human being—to live according to the precepts of the Torah."

Paris also explores Israel's best-known secret: the matzah. She examines how the original experiment in rural communal living has evolved over four decades. At Robbi's Folkak, on the Lebanon border, a pioneering settlement has turned into what Paris calls a "modern, agro-industrial, collective enterprise whose members lead a comfortable middle-class life." The kibbutz grows crops and runs a computer-controlled factory for the manufacture of deep-frying equipment—an Israeli invention that delivers water to plants drop by drop in minute evaporation.

The social changes were equally great: the idea of raising children separately from their parents had been dropped by the second gener-

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BOOKS

atom. Panssana found a kabibka couple whose biggest problem was how to find babysitters in the evening since the exchange of money and services was still forbidden. In fact, the most contentious question for the considers revolved around the hiring of outside labor.

Beneath the chaly bivalves, Paris was quick to sense the undercurrent of fear and insecurity that beats Israel. As the hawkish politician Nachum Scharf told her, both governments in Israel believe that the Western powers did nothing to save the Jews during the Second World War. As well, he said, Israel has a sage maxim, based on the widespread fear that the 150 million Arabs who surround them are waiting for an opportunity to wipe the country out.

At the heart of Paris's troubled journey is the 21-year-old military occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan. She made only the briefest forays into that unpredictable region but came back with a vivid impression of the terrorism and the deep-seated hatred of its Palestinian inhabitants. She ventured among some of the 65,000 Jewish settlers who have moved to the West Bank, finding attitudes that ranged from old-fashioned colonialism to extreme self-righteousness.

In her discussion of the West Bank situation, Paris offers nothing new about the plight of Palestinian Arabs. She is more effective at conveying the despair of thoughtful Israelis and Palestinians who have tried to confront the problems. Danny Rubinstein, a veteran reporter for *Gazeta*, the official organ of the Labour Party, used to tell: "When I tell my friends that I'm going to a town like Ramallah on the West Bank, they look at me as though I've just been going to take a walk in Central Park at midnight. There's almost no contact any more. And that is truly dangerous." Rehavai Alia Ayzaa, head of the Arab Journalists' Association in the occupied territories, spoke to Paris about his desire to write about his own life, which he began 25 years earlier in a refugee camp. Suddenly, wrote Paris, "something happened." Ayzaa flushed, stopped speaking and stared at the floor. "We sat in silence, wordless and embarrassed because disaster had broken through the final wall of professionalism."

There is a similar moment in the last and most macabre interview in the book—with Merrin Beaven, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem. Since 1982, Beaven has been compiling—with the help of the Ford Foundation—a scrupulously detailed study on all aspects of life in the territory. Asked if things could deteriorate further on the West Bank, he said: "They can't. That is it. The two-tier system is already in place. It is civil war between Jews and Arabs in Palestine—that's how I define it. The conflict is endemic. It cannot be resolved, only managed." That bleak judgment was made before the uprising in the occupied territories that began last December. It is a tribute to Paris's sharp sight and direction that *The Garden and the Guest* will possibly resound.

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YOUTH

The baby busters

A new generation is making its mark on society

Joseph Deutscher's family often tells him that he works too hard. But Deutscher has a reason. With an annual revenue of about \$460,000, the 25-year-old software graduate from the University of Saskatchewan works as a production supervisor at a local TV station in Regina. By day, he plays a Part-Time Athlete at the University of Saskatchewan. He is an amateur of basketball. And if 40 years according to his plan, Deutscher says, the fitness is going to be bright. "I should be a senior production supervisor in the next year or so," he explained. "Then a production specialist in two or three years and a production supervisor within five years." Likewise other members of the post-baby-boom generation, Deutscher is confident that his skills are going to be in demand and that he is going to climb the corporate ladder quickly. But unlike members of the baby boom who preceded him—and who faced stiff competition for jobs—Deutscher can afford it at such as much importance to his leisure time as to his career. Like others of his age group, Deutscher is a so-called baby buster—one of the generation of tough-minded, ambitious and choosy young adults who are beginning to make their mark on North American society.

As members of the generation born since the early 1960s—when the baby boom that followed the Second World War began to show dramatically—the baby busters are also eager to climb the corporate ladder quickly, but on their own terms. At the University of Toronto, history professor Paul Bightham says that the busters have a great deal of individual influence with employers because of the demand for their skills.

Jill Bunting is a typical buster. Last May, the 23-year-old political science graduate of Western University, Guelph, Ont., joined Stetson Canada Ltd., a mid-size furniture manufacturing company, as a sales representative in the firm's Mississauga, Ont., branch. Bunting says that she gave the matter careful thought before deciding to join the firm.

"The company has a great deal of growth potential," said Bunting. "Because if I started in the top 100 companies in Canada, there had to be a lot of good things about it." Bunting and Bightham, who earns about \$25,000 a year,



Karen Cranes, a partner in the chartered accountancy firm of Touche Ross & Co. in Halifax, says that the desire for quick upward mobility is common among busters.

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"I think everyone is accepting—reluctantly or not—the fact that society is evolving and that expectations have to adapt as well."

Still, some busters, including Paul Knudsen, a 27-year-old equity researcher at Eastern Trust Co. in New York City, say that some of their older co-workers resent members of his generation. "These people in their 30s say 'Look at this guy. He's just out of business school and look what he's getting paid,'" said Knudsen. "There are so many opportunities that they're not satisfied. They are ambitious and they're eager to get the bright way."

These attitudes, as many insist, may compromise some busts' deal with the changing demands that their younger employees place on them. Some firms have started to offer higher salaries for entry-level jobs in an attempt to entice a new generation of workers who have

more "flexible" needs. "The people in their 30s all had to work some hours before they got where they are today," they say. "With the younger set, I get the feeling that they don't think anyone needs dues."

Last year, officials at the London, Ont.-based

Louis Leis Assurance Co. conducted a training program for 100 managers to help them understand the changing aspirations of their younger colleagues. "It's entirely different now," says James Etherington, the firm's 50-year-old vice-president of corporate affairs. "When I came out of university in 1962, what I wanted to do was probably well set—get a job, get married, have kids, buy a house, and, if you worked hard, you'd advance." But Etherington, whose sons are 21 and 26, added that once boomers assess how concerned about these things. "They're willing to take chances, be more flexible," said Etherington. "We know that if we kept our noses in the ground, things would work out for us. They're not so sure."

For his part, John Kettle, author of a 1986 book on the baby boom generation entitled *The Big Generation*, maintains that what is occurring now is only a hint of what will happen when those born during the early 1970s—when Canada's birthrate was sharply declining from the baby boom years—enter the workforce. In Canada, only 360,650 babies were born in 1976 compared with 479,278 in 1959, at the height of the baby boom. Similarly, in the United States, only 3.1 million children were born in 1973 compared with 4.3 million in 1957, at the peak of the boom in that country. "The message here is: You aren't seeing anything yet," said Kettle. "There will be at least five more years in which the number of baby-boom entrants is going to be lower year to year—and the shortage will be added, because that wages for young workers will inevitably increase."

But many company officials note that solvency appears to be less important for young adults who are at the early stages of their careers. Said Fred Wenzelmann, a Cooper "Baby on, they're very career-oriented but they come to a point where they say, 'Gee, I don't want to be far away.' That's a beginning answer, and they're planning for it," Peter Frost, who tracks organizational behavior at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, says that students now want to have choices and that they give emphasis to both choice and leisure. "They want a sense of challenge, of satisfaction and growth in both their working lives and in the non-work areas of their lives," said Frost. "They want to make money, but it doesn't come first on their list of priorities. They want the money to be able to do things they want to do."

For Deutscher, a good salary is a way to reduce his debt quickly—including a \$150,000 mortgage on a three-bedroom bungalow in

northwest Edmonton—before starting a family. And after putting money into retirement savings and company stock each month, Deutscher says he has enough left over for "the toys"—including a brand-new \$22,000 Mazda RX-7 sports car and a state-of-the-art cassette recorder, microwave oven, stereo console

afforded by important events of historic significance, including the Vietnam War or the political crisis of the 1960s. Catherine Verstra, assistant dean of commerce at the University of British Columbia, says that some students get involved in such campus activities as student councils

But Verstra added that many participants not only out of personal interests, but from a desire to make themselves "politically active" and better. Said Judy Keown, 23, an assistant to a media planner at Baker Lameck Advertising in Vancouver: "My career will always be important to me, but there are other things that are important as well—including skiing, playing tennis and eventually having a family. Politics, however, is not among them. By taking part in such activities as the commerce student council, Keown says that while she was pursuing her interests, she was also conscious of the need to make useful personal contacts and improve her research.

Partly as a result of that attitude, observers including Ingman, who teaches a course in popular culture, say that baby boomers may be less likely to have as great an impact on society as their predecessors. Said Ingman: "From the late 1950s, there has been an redesign cultural stamp—maker, a whole arena of subcultures that adolescents have focused on. It's all very aggressive." The lack of a unifying culture, says Ingman, may weaken the group culturally politically and socially. As a result, he added, "these young people may be 'oriented toward material possessions rather than thinking in broader terms.'

Still, some observers say that the boomers' priorities are basically no much different from those of their elders. Said Barry Doyle, an employment counselor at the Canada Employment Centre at St. John's Dalhousie University: "They're all looking for employment relating to their studies, with decent starting salary and opportunity for advancement. There are no changes as what students are looking for now versus the early 1970s, when I was finishing university." But it's unexpected, at least, that the boomers clearly offer. Where those born later in the peak of the boom have had tough competition for spots in good universities and decent jobs, many baby boomers share Deutscher's confidence that—for the time being, anyway—they'll be the best to do what they want to do.

WORA UNDERWOOD with PAT ANNISLEY in Vancouver, CLAUDIO O'FARRELL in Edmon-
ton, PAULINE MANSOUR in Halifax and
DAVID LINDSEY in New West Min-



Deutscher: a quick climb up the ladder—and a bright future

system and digital piano.

Unlike their predecessors, boomers show a notable lack of interest in politics. Many observers attribute that indifference to the fact that the boomers have never been personally

involved in politics.

Deutscher: new challenges for industry



WORA UNDERWOOD with PAT ANNISLEY
in Vancouver, CLAUDIO O'FARRELL in Edmon-
ton, PAULINE MANSOUR in Halifax and
DAVID LINDSEY in New West Min-

Tomorrow's Breakthroughs Are Being Made in Canada TODAY!



A Commitment to Canada

The members of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association of Canada (PMAC) have made a commitment to Canada. We intend to keep that promise.

What Was Bill C-22?

Bill C-22 amended Canada's Patent Act in November 1987. The aim was to foster the transfer of technology among nations and to help Canada keep pace with global advances in scientific research.

One section of Bill C-22 balanced a number of interests:

- consumer price protection for medicines,
- fair protection for discoverers of pharmaceutical researchers in universities and industry;
- assured growth of the generic drug sector;
- expanded health research investment in Canada by the research sector of the industry.

A Commitment to Fair Prices

Bill C-22 created a Price Review Board, effective October 7, 1987. The Review Board sets fair prices for the introduction of new patented medicines. It monitors price increases on all patented medicines to ensure that those exceeding the inflation rate can be justified. The Board has the

power to remove patent protection to enforce its directives.

A Commitment to Bring Research to Life in Canada

PMAC members have committed to double their research investments in Canada from 5% to 10% of sales by 1996. This means \$1.4 billion added to current annual expenditures in excess of \$100 million. It will create a cumulative total of \$30 billion invested in research in the industry and university health centres and hospitals across Canada. It will create 3000 new research jobs.

The Review Board monitors company research expenditures and reports annually to Cabinet.

An independent survey has been made of PMAC company prices submitted to the Ontario Drug Benefit Program for the period July to December 1988. 95% of prices stayed within the 5% inflation guideline set by the Ontario government. 94% showed no increase or actually decreased.

By the end of September 1988, PMAC and member companies have publicly committed to research investments totalling almost \$1.2 billion. We are already close to our goal of \$1.4 billion in added research investments by 1996.

The members of PMAC made a commitment to the spirit and letter of Bill C-22, a commitment to Canada. We intend to meet that commitment.



Bringing Research to Life

PHARMACEUTICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA
the association of Canada's innovative pharmaceutical industry

FASHION

New Soviet styles

Russia is rejuvenating its fashion industry

Steve Zaitsev, fashion designer to 36-year-old First Lady, Galia Gorbacheva, and to a range of jackets, gowns, coats, pants, skirts and parkas, has run down a hall at Dom Moda, the Soviet Union's pre-eminent fashion house, doing his best to dodge surpise visitors who want to interview him. He is unsmilingly cordial, in response to questions, handing a series of orders to waiting staff members. It is another hectic day for the 50-year-old Zaitsev, whose reputation as a leading designer in the Soviet Union—a country that has never been renowned for its fashion—has attracted even Soviet leaders Mikhail Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, as a client. Zaitsev and other Soviet designers credit Gorbachev's current reform programs—along with his wife's commitment to fashion and the arts—with reinvigorating the country's morale, helping industry and spurring new international interest in Soviet design. Declared Zaitsev: "You feel the right of beauty, which was forbidden for all these years. Now, under Gorbachev, I am allowed to go outside and show my collections in the West."

But artistic freedom and the license to travel abroad—Zaitsev has shown to collectors in France, the United States and Canada—are not the only benefits that Soviet designers have won under Gorbachev's liberalizing policies. As well, they are allowed to share in part of the profit from sales outside the Soviet Union. As a result, Zaitsev, who is negotiating with a Paris-based company to produce a line of accessories and a perfume bearing his name, could earn thousands of dollars in foreign currency—possession of which is forbidden to most Soviet citizens. Zaitsev, who currently earns a monthly salary of about \$580 as director of Dom Moda, says that is a prospect he can hardly imagine. He added: "For 18 years, we have been only a creator, not a businessman." Now, as the only Soviet designer who is allowed to put his name on a cashmere label, Zaitsev stands to become rich. He declared: "I am an absolute pioneer in this field."

Zaitsev is an admirer of such designers as Yves Saint Laurent, sof Valentine, and his clothes are more complicated than the simple jackets, skirts and pants that Western women



Zaitsev with model: new artistic freedom under Gorbachev

say is that they can then buy high-quality natural fabrics and accessories.

But fashion critics say that the current poor quality of Soviet manufactured textiles and finished clothes is still a major problem. A recent article in the publication *Revolta*, a weekly insert to the national newspaper *Izvestiya*, noted that Soviet consumers "were not overly enthusiastic" about the Pierre Cardin designs produced recently under a joint agreement with the Soviet Zvezda Moda manufacturing company. The article, by the factory's chief designer said, was that the contract had not provided fabrics or sewing services for the designs. Gorbachev was a diplomatic ally after he threatened to ban black, imitation-leather handbags in the winter. To avoid similar problems, Karcherova, who is employed by Dom Moda—a fashion house that designs for the average working woman—and that her firm is negotiating with an Italian manufacturer to produce some Dom Moda designs and establish a special shop to sell them. However," she added, "the clothes will be very expensive."

Most Soviet women cannot afford the products of Moscow's leading designers. A wool suit by Zaitsev sells for between \$300 and \$500, while dresses are priced at up to \$3,000 each—for beyond the reach of the average Soviet worker, who earns about \$400 a month. Said Tatyana Pyrestova, a designer at Dom Moda: "Our clients are often foreigners from the embassies."

Zaitsev's success has become a source of inspiration for young Soviet designers. Galia Yatsko, a fourth year student at Moscow's Krymsk Institute, said that she and other classmates will start entrepreneurial fashion houses of their own. She added: "Gorbachev has given us more hopes for the future." Many students say that their goal is to emulate the success of Zaitsev, who began his professional life as a designer of work clothes. It was not until 1982 that he was permitted to open Dom Moda and create his own collection. Now, Zaitsev stakes his claim as he contemplates the possibilities that lie ahead. He commented: "I feel a kind of happiness in showing people around the world my work and speaking to them through my work and art." For a businessman of the glimmering era, that is indeed a fitting design.

DIANNE RENSHAW in Moscow



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— who recently finished the sound track for the upcoming movie *Road House*, in which he has a small role—in new scoring across Canada from west to east with a tour that culminates in Montreal on Nov. 25. And everywhere, Jones and Healey are winning accolades from rock fans and blues specialists alike. Said celebrated American guitarist Steve Ray Vaughan: "Jeff is one of the greatest guitar players around. And Colm has got what it takes to go anywhere he wants with his mixture of pop and blues."

In fact, Jones is being served an apprenticeship with Vaughan after Vaughan chose him in 1984 as Sessions and Healey's housemate. The two began performing Vaughan's songs with him on a tour of Canada, and brought him along each night for concert rehearsals, travelling guitars and luggage. In turn, Vaughan and Jones' friendship has been progressing through the United States. "It's great for the lack I've had," says Jones last month. "It's given me a great foundation."

Indeed, last year literally landed Jones on the table of some major-company executives. In the middle of use of his full-blown rhythmic-and-blues numbers last year at Vancouver's Town Pier, Jones leapt off the stage and onto a table where presenters of the British-based label Virgin Records were seated—spilling all their details in the process. But without missing a note, he unleashed a stirring guitar solo that led to a standing ovation and to his current multi-record deal with Virgin. It was the kind of go-for-broke performance that was captured on his recording debut, a blues album of pop melodies and blues riffs, and that Jones offered in Toronto last month during a frenzied 60-minute show.

For all his powerhouse performance style, Jones gives up on such guitar sounds. One of four children of William and Joyce Blunt, both Quakers and Peigan social workers, Jones says that he remembers hearing music in his family's house from an early age—“woolly The Weavers and stuff like that.” When his parents began taking him to folk festivals, Jones encountered blues through such veteran artists as guitarist Johnny Stetson James (“I heard discussions about the wild world of 1930s blues—people like Roy Brown and Johnny Ace—and the whole idea of the fast-paced blues and Jackie Wilson doing things sent me reeling. I still feel it terribly romantic.”

Like Jones, Jeff Healey is now meeting accolades from established blues artists, people who are his own heroes. Along with Vaughan and re-spectable bluesman Albert Collins, blues giant B. B. King has sung his praises. King first met Healey late stage after a Vancouver concert that the blues legend gave in 1986. King agreed to play in the teenagers’ guitar session for five minutes and wound up staying for an hour and a half. And Healey has come along to measure himself against his music, which is steeped in the 1960s blues and rock traditions of Eric Clapton and Jimi

Jones' steaming guitar solos add a brash mix of pop melodies and blues

MUSIC

Blues brothers

Two Canadians are on the brink of stardom

THE crossroads, according to an enduring blues legend, is where square-jawed musicians go to make their deal with the devil. In blues land, a young guitarist in the 1930s named Robert Johnson went down to a place on the Mississippi delta where two roads end and signed a Faustian pact in exchange for stardom. A version of that legend is now being played by two young Canadian musicians, Vancouver’s Colm Jones and Toronto’s Jeff Healey. Although neither Jones nor Healey has made any devoted deals, such as a titolated guitarist playing at a blues tradition—and both are clearly standing at the crossroads of fame and fortune.

Jones, 34, and Healey, 22, have been signed to international record contracts and each is now enjoying a top-selling debut album. Colm Jones (Virgin/EMI), which was released in August and spawned the hit single “Radio Thing,” has reached platinum status with Canadian sales of 180,000 copies. And Healey—who is blind—released *See the Light* (Krautland) in mid-September, and the album has sold almost 50,000 copies.

Already veteran performers on

Canada’s honky circuit, both artists are currently drawing capacity crowds in even larger forums. The free-wheeling Jones, who opened stadium-size concerts across North America this summer for British pop star George Michael, is concluding a cross-Canada tour that winds up this week with a transplant homecoming—five sold-out nights at Vancouver’s Commodore Ballroom. Meanwhile, Healey

Stevie (left), Healey, Rockhouse, Jones and Toronto



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Healey. Setting with his electric guitar across his lap, Healey has the unorthodox habit of keeping all his left-hand fingers, including his thumb, on the first finger. In fact, his thumb often performs fluid slides and augmented note-beating—strangely requiring a guitarist's count down to six at right. Healey said in an interview, "as long as what comes out is coherent."

On his surprisingly consistent debut album, Healey is more than coherent in the blues language—he is fluent. Born with eye cancer, Healey, who lost his sight by the age of 1, demonstrated a facility with music as a three-year-old when his father, father and his brother's mother bought him a six-string guitar. An interest in the jazz of Louis Armstrong and the blues of Louis Armstrong's contemporaries, including the jazz legend Louis Armstrong, was born in 1983 and 1984. Healey was shown an album of the Canadian Steps Band Project. Then he and his parents began listening to it every day. He added, "After a certain point, that sort of thing wasn't big, so I started listening to jazz standards and Led Zeppelin. Then I realized that something must have come before that and so I discovered people like B.B. King, Elmore James and Buddy Guy... His music encompasses all of these styles. In fact, Healey owns a collection of more than 10,000 bluesy jazz and blues CDs. But now, in concert, Healey has begun integrating Healey and playing the guitar while holding it behind his head—and even plucking out notes with his teeth.

Such unusual skills and showmanship led New York City-based Arista Records to sign Healey and his band—drummer Tom Stephen and bassist Joe Rockman—in 1987. Label president, Gary Davis, the industry veteran behind such stars as Bruce Springsteen and Whitney Houston, has taken a strong personal interest in the Texas guitarist. And after recording his debut album, Healey experienced the kind of good fortune that has evaded Jones's way. A copy of a Healey video wound up in Hollywood and led to both a sound-track album and an acting part in *Bad Moon*, a movie starring Patrick Swayze tentatively scheduled for release next February. Healey's character is a wannabe friend to Swayze, who plays the bouncer at a nightclub. Despite the acting break, Healey remains that his future lies in music.

The future for both Healey and Jones seems assured. Their albums will integrated bookings are planned for worldwide release. And while Healey is about to embark on a European tour with his band, Jones is considering cast Healey guitars, despite his devotion to the blues, in concert to perform for a steady blues-loving audience. Said Jones, who dedicated his album to musical mentors including Robert Johnson: "I want to take all those influences and become an international success. I want to keep my options open." Eddie Johnson—and Jimi Hendrix, mostly just—Jones and Healey are blues guitarists who are determined to succeed on their own terms.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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Keisha, Keisha in *The Good Mother*, conflicting erotic and maternal instincts

FILMS

A family affair

A new movie looks at sex and mothers

She wore a sensible dress. Mat Black had stripped it at the waist with a match and left it fanned into a hem that stopped and fell through above the intention to allow silk strapless stockings. Attatched to the frayed waist was a coarse-woven floral flower, each sliver as large as her face, which was framed by bangs and a sweep of strength, raw too. Glasses-clad glasses obscured my eyes. But the smile was naturally familiar, the surrounding, self-developing smile of Diane Keaton, but far more to define herself. Interviewed last week in New York City about her new movie, *The Good Mother*, Keaton gamely accepted another cup of coffee ("Coffee, momma, hot") and talked about the sorts of women she likes to portray. "I guess they're characters who have complicated feelings," she said. "They're kind of in a web of once-conflicted love or, you know, say or the other. I guess I don't really know. What do you find?"

In *The Good Mother*, Keaton portrays a woman who's complicated for her own good, a mother who is torn between her son and her young daughter. Based on the best-selling 1968 novel by U.S. author Sue Miller, the drama revolves around a green environment but

the child's custody. One of three movies released this fall about women on trial, *The Good Mother* is indicative of Hollywood's increasing interest in creating issue-oriented movies with strong roles for women. In *The Accused*, released last month, Julie Christie portrays the victim of a gang rape who must defend herself in court against allegations she asked for it. And this week marks the release of *A Cry in the Dark*, starring Merle Streep, a true story that chronicles the battle against an Australian mother suddenly accused of murdering her baby (page 60).

But Keaton prefers to see it as a personal story. Asked about the common perception that it's a banal movie, she said: "How does that, women, really? I don't see it that way myself. I thought it was about a particular woman in a particular situation. In a way, it's called it to happen. She brought it on herself. Even though it was an accident, it was one of those accidents where you kind of wonder." Added Keaton: "I guess someone could see it as an more movie. But I didn't. I saw it more psychologically."

Regardless of her opinion, the Disney-owned studio Touchstone Pictures is marketing *The Good Mother* as an issue movie. The advertisements pose the question: "Can a court determine how we should live? How we should love, how we should care our children?" Initially, however, Disney executives were wary about running such questions on the big screen. Glaeser noted that when he first optioned it from Touchstone chairman Michael Eisner, he had done the project. "Michael said, 'I think it's a little bit too...it's topical and it deals with issues I don't think we can touch,'" these free-spirited words to domestic tough issues more readily than thematic features. "It is a movie," Glaeser added, "they can

dance. Anna is his warehouse job, Grindly and grumpy, he introduces her to an unashamed world of passion and sexuality that she had never enjoyed with her brother. Anna's daughter, Molly, played by six-year-old Tatiana Sosnowska, has been adopted by a new boyfriend, who has basically replaced her brother. But while visiting her father on a weekend, she falls in love again, touching Leo's penis. In fact, she had seen Leo stripping out of the shower and asked to touch it, to satisfy her curiosity, he responded. It was a fleeting and harmless incident, not an act of molestation. But Molly's brother, imagining the worst, runs for custody. And Anna's lawyer (Jason Robards) urges her to sacrifice her relationship with Leo instead of trying to convert a conservative judge to a liberal philosophy of sexual education.

The story involves some complex psychology and the film-makers seem to have quite different views about what it all means. Director Leeanne Mandy, who became famous as Ms. Speck, Star Trek's guide-over Valar, can, says that the movie's central issue is the age-old conflict between motherhood and sexuality. "It's the classic division between the matronly and the whore," says Mandy. "I think it is a particular problem for men to perceive their mothers as women who have sex." On the other hand, producer Arnold Glaeser maintains that the issues at first and foremost "a powerful statement that the ideals of the 1960s are irreconcilable in the 1980s." Glaeser—whose first production was *Gardien in the Mist*, the story of primitive researcher Dan Frenzy—says that he is committed to making movies about social issues. He calls *The Good Mother* a "political film."

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FILMS

deal with domestic subjects. It doesn't cost much money to make. And there is a large audience for domestic stories. But do people want to come and pay \$4 to be about?"

A movie producer, Schaeffer finally concluded that *The Good Mother* was worthy of the big screen. Nancy, another relatively unassessed filmmaker, was hired to direct. Although he had directed two *Star Trek*s and scored a commercial hit with the 1982 comedy *Titanic Men and a Baby*, Nancy had no experience making serious drama. At first, he had trouble convincing *Disney* executives to accept Keaton for the lead because of her long-time image as a comedy actress or such

starching Auntie attempting to reconcile the cravat with the sweater. "The look is pretty wild," said Keaton. "I mean, we're Americans, and we're a little more formal than the British. But then there's a case of boy that's still there in some ways."

In going down the book's narrative, the script omits some key characters. Gloucester explains that it leaves out the details of Anna's divorce because "people who are divorcing are the most boring people to be with; you don't want to be with them at a party and you don't want to be with them in a movie." However, more scenes in the movie's compilation of the story's most important relationships—the one between mother and child. Miles' novel describes the understandings of

"I'm not dead. But the biological clock—it's ticked." It is ironic that Keaton has ended up staying in movies that in different ways, celebrate the relationship between mother and child.

The Good Mother evades the darker tale of Miles' vision. The lesson of the novel's underlying darkness into a spirit of acceptance. And the lesson is lost in the movie's ending. The basic outcome remains unchanged in the screen version. But the conclusion does an amazingly underdeveloped, considering that Telechase has marketed the movie as a legal thriller. Finally, the movie's rapid build-up is unsatisfying, as it is suffused with a soft-focus sentiment that is absent from the book.

Although the movie simplifies the novel in some compelling ways, a dramatic search of it with fidelity sensitivity. The characteristic ambivalence of Keaton's personality makes her well-suited for Anna's character. And she handles the moments of heart-wrenching emotion with some of the best dramatic acting of her career. Keaton finally found a strong costar in Neeson, who played Ollie Eastwood's dad in *The Dead Pool*. Their chemistry has a spark of authenticity. And the mother-daughter scenes with Anna's family are poignant—Anna's adolescent fascination with a promiscuous aunt named Babe (Diane Griffith) to her adult daughter with her wealthy grandparents (Ralph Bellamy and Terence Wright).

In attempting to make tough subjects digestible for a broad audience, the filmmakers have performed some unfortunate surgery on the story. The first cut of the movie was three hours long, and the studio insisted on trimming the film to two hours. And Anna herself was less than completely convinced that the filmmakers have succeeded. "I think they did a good job, but I think it's cut," she said. Asked if her opinion of the movie as a whole, Keaton vacillated. "I don't know what to say. It's had luck, I think, to say, 'Yeah, I'm just as thrilled.'

Despite the movie's flaws, it touches on emotional themes that Hollywood rarely finds the time to explore. Readers familiar with Miller's writing would be disappointed. But the movie conveys so much of the drama that they can fill in the gaps. Meanwhile, those who have not read the book may be tempted to pick it up—and discover that there is more to *The Good Mother* than meets the eye.



PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT MICHENER

Neeson, Viorel and Keaton teaching on emotional terrain that Hollywood rarely explores

Woody Allen moves to Annex Mall. To make his case, he put together a film depicting his domestic life as a farce featuring his daughter from *Rhed* (1981) and Shelly the Moose (1982).

Meanwhile, Keaton had reservations about accepting the role. Pertaining to the part of a mother faced with the loss of her child did not worry her, she said, but that she was concerned about the love scenes. "I thought, 'Who's going to want to watch me do that?'" recalled the 42-year-old actress. "Who's going to buy that? The idea is that she was without clothes, that was one thing. And then there was the intimacy."

In the end, Keaton remained strategically draped in the sex scenes. And the intimacy proved to be cathartic. "I really liked *Lawn*," she said of her co-star. "It's a natural thing." Asked if she regrets not having children of her own, Keaton responded with one of her trademark double takes. "Re-grets? Sure. Wish I could. Like A Little Neil,

my friend's son, he's 45 years old now, and he's a father of four. I mean, I'm not even a grandmother yet. The idea of having a son! And Anna's been a mom too, but completely convinced that the filmmakers have succeeded. "I think they did a good job, but I think it's cut," she said. Asked if her opinion of the movie as a whole, Keaton vacillated. "I don't know what to say. It's had luck, I think, to say, 'Yeah, I'm just as thrilled.'

Despite the movie's flaws, it touches on emotional themes that Hollywood rarely finds the time to explore. Readers familiar with Miller's writing would be disappointed. But the movie conveys so much of the drama that they can fill in the gaps. Meanwhile, those who have not read the book may be tempted to pick it up—and discover that there is more to *The Good Mother* than meets the eye.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON on New York City

An outback tragedy

A new movie explores the 'Dingo Baby' case

A CRY IN THE DARK
Directed by Fred Schepisi

Intriguingly, *A Cry in the Dark* sounds unconvincing. First, it features Meryl Streep trying to outperform Sean Penn, the outsize saga of an Australian mother who charged with murder after a wild animal had killed her baby. Finally, the movie comes from Caesars Entertainment Inc., known mainly for bland action pictures. But first,

der Australia's famous Ayers Rock when their baby disappeared. In the dark, Lady could make out a dingo (an Australian wild dog) dawdling away near the baby's spot. Six months later, but not before the authorities had ruled the body had never been found. Later, the baby's bloodied clothes showed the only clue. The media pursued the tragedy like sharks at a feeding frenzy. Reviewers, Lady and Michael were seen anti-day Adventists; they were many targets for religious intolerance. And in the publicity



Next, Streep: media misinformations in a amateur case led to a kind of group madness

impressions can be destroying. Streep—who used strange vocal contractions to sound Polish in *Sophie's Choice* and French in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*—offers an Australian accent so credible that, for once, her mimicry does not distract from her performance. *A Cry in the Dark* sounds like a screenwriter's half-baked concoction but it tells the true story of Lucy Chan (Lucy Lawless) and her husband, Michael (Stan Nolti). And despite Caesars' reputation the movie is an interesting drama that exposes the horrors of media sensationalism. It cuts to the quick with blunt realism.

The movie placed a decisive role in the case of Lucy Chamberlain, who was accused of murdering her nine-month-old daughter, Asia, during a 1980 trip in the Australian outback. Lucy and Michael were camped up-

wards, until the ugly rumors. Among the heaped-off air front-page news that Lucy and Michael were part of a prude sect, that the same Asian meant "survive in the wilder seas" and that Lucy had slit Asia's throat.

Pressured by the media watchdog, the courts charged Lucy with murder. Although there was no body, no motive and no murder weapon, she was convicted on flimsy forensic evidence that was later quashed. Lucy was sentenced to the imprisonment at least 10 years. Michael, convicted as an accessory, was given a suspended sentence so that he could care for their two sons. But while Lucy languished in jail—giving birth to another daughter shortly after she began her sentence—her true attracted remarkable public sympathy. After John Tiptree's 1986 book, *SO DISTINCTIVE. SO BEEFEATER*

Angels, which inspired the movie, had worldwide impact. Shortly after its publication, the authorities overruled Lucy's sentence and released her. Finally, two months ago, Australia's Northern Territory Court of Criminal Appeal quashed the earlier convictions and exonerated the Chamberlains.

The movie is clearly sympathetic to the Chamberlains. Streep and Nolti, who had played opposite each other in warlike lovers in Seneca's *Philly* (1983), here give tightly controlled performances. Possibly because both spent time with the real Chamberlains, the portrayals are grandly simple, unadorned by flourishes. (Indeed, in fact, it was the Chamberlains' lack of visibility that, in talking to the media, first aroused suspicion about the couple. When they failed to play these part-as-victims of a tragedy, journalists became then as victims of a cover-up.)

Streep plays Lucy as a kind, no-nonsense woman with a very appreciation of her shared situation. As Lucy watches the media spread malicious gossip, she reacts with measured disbelief. Later, she defends herself with canine success in the courtroom. When her lawyer insists that she is "not going over well with the jury" and suggests that she act "more docile," Lucy stubbornly replies, "I am the way I am and I won't be squashed into some dumb bitch act for the public." Streep's Lucy often seems cold and dispassionate. But last week, after seeing the movie, the real Lucy praised Streep for doing "a truly moving job." She called her performance "possibly perfect."

Australian director Fred Schepisi handles an explosive story with appropriate tact. Instead of imposing a whodunit formula on the drama, he makes the Chamberlains' accusations absolutely clear from the beginning. And, rather than let the movie become a big-screen extension of media sensationalism, he turns the tables on journalism and shows how it can systematically distort the truth. In an editing room, a TV news producer makes a film of Lucy describing the dingo and says, "I want some so-called issue here." During the trial, reporters, baited by hints of forensic evidence, wonder how the word "hangdog" will fit into headlines.

Schepisi not only shows how news is manufactured, but how the public devours it. Further, throughout the score, he portrays ordinary Australians in bars, restaurants and at dinner parties avidly speculating about the Chamberlains. "It's the old pass-the-gossip routine," explained Schepisi. "Media sensationalism and viewing sensational kept refueling each other. Eventually, it brought about a kind of group emotional madness." The movie leaves the audience itself with pity and rage. Casting light onto the heart of the human condition, *A Cry in the Dark* ends as it begins with a tragic sense of loss.



BRIAN B. JOHNSON

SO DISTINCTIVELY DIFFERENT

Doctor Strangelove

How Ewen Cameron experimented with minds

A n old joke describes two soots talking in heaven: the Virtuous saint is the round-tired old man, "See the grey over there with the long white beard and stoopshould? That's God—He's playing doctor." This tall, broad-beamed figure is the Doctor of the Month, the doctor who has been the subject of much ink and inkier ink since the publication of one of the greats of Canadian psychiatry. See *Murderer, Kill! Kill!* As director of Montreal's Allan Memorial Institute, affiliate of McGill University, from 1943 to 1964, the amphetamine- and insulin-pushing Cameroun can run one of the most remarkable careers of psychiatric research in North America. A various amalgam in his career, Cameron served as president of the Canadian, American and world psychiatric associations. But, according to most former patients and many critics, almost all of Cameron's pioneering work—whatever else was good—wasn't good. Mack of *Anna Gilmour's In the Sleep Room*, The Story of the CIA Brainwashing Experiments in Canada (Roster & Open Books, \$18.95) and Shirley Weissman's *A Father a Son and the CIA* (James Lorimer \$24.95) offer chilling portraits of Cameron's victims. Gordon Thomas's *Jimmy Jet: Medicine, Madness, Torture and the Mind Control Agency* (Bantam, \$18.95), meanwhile, looks at the wide of doctors who by choice or Cameron's professional bribe—doctors involved in political torture and mind control.

Cameroun's own methods included brainwashing experiments for which he received almost \$72,000 a secret funding from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency between 1962 and 1966, through a project code-named MINDSET. In 1967, Cameroun died of a heart attack while attempting climbing in the Adirondacks, and, within a decade, his once-unassimilable reputation had become increasingly tarnished. After the CIA connection emerged in the late 1970s, Canadian opponents launched a highly publicized lawsuit against the U.S. government. Recently, eight of them and the valiance of another reached a tentative 1997 \$600 collective settlement for damages.

Colins and Weissman paint a similar picture of Cameron as a man driven by a desire but self-deluding doctor known best absence as fuel a case for amphetamine, depression and other mental disorders. He imposed an regimen of Allan patients treatments that an extreme case wiped out years of memory and left them broken-down versions of their former selves. All three authors make it clear that Cameron did so in the name of behavioral psychiatry. Psychiatry was then divided into two major



Collins: chilling portraits of the doctor's victims

cases—the physical—or behavioral—and the psychodynamic. Derived from the theories of Sigmund Freud, the psychodynamic method was time-consuming, costly and—in the opinion of its critics—lacking in scientific rigor.

Cameroun had little use for it. However the human mind is little more than a black slate on which a person's experience could be written—or erased. As a result, thoughts could easily be changed by controlling someone's experience.

That theorizing by behind the brainwashing experiments designed by scientists from various countries during and after the Second World War. It was part of the era's equally optimistic belief in social engineering and its Cold War foundation with mind

control. And it was also an ideology in whose service Ewen Cameron and his Allan colleagues employed a technologically aggressive therapeutic instead of war against mental illness. Those weapons included the haloperidol (Haldol), massive doses of electroconvulsive shock treatment (ECT), drug-induced sleep therapy and insulin coma, lasting sometimes for weeks. One of Cameron's most controversial treatments was "gastric driving."

That method involved subjecting patients to a seemingly endless combination of forced movement, rapid meals,强制性灌食, under their physician's watch, until they stop, or, occasionally through bizarre-looking methods he believed that they were both asleep and awake. Along with a variety of techniques, Cameron hoped to break down or "re-pattern" personalities and rebuild them in order to help patients lead more productive lives.

In the vast majority of cases, that did not happen. Worse, Cameron's methods caused many patients lasting harm—fractures, neurological damage to debilitating memory loss and the degradation of having hours spent against their will as human pinatas. Some still have recurring nightmares of their experimentation at the Allan. One of the first to launch the class lawsuit was Whapping native Vil Orlikow, now 71, who was treated continuously at the Allan between 1956 and 1966. According to her husband, David, a longtime MP from Whapping, Orlikow emerged from the hospital torpor as "only 20 per cent of her old self." In her book, writes, "In her great need I face, she would cry at a grandfatherly look of sheer you can see the week of a life and acute intelligence."

Weissman's *A Father a Son and the CIA* presents another casualty. Now a psychiatrist at California's Stanford University, Weissman was a Mental patient when his 46-year-old father, suffering from acute anxiety, was subjected to Cameroun's CIA-sponsored experiments between 1966 and 1967. The older Weissman received powerful combinations of sleep-deprivation drugs, ECT and insulin. Instead of helping, however, those折磨 treatments cost him his business, became friends and the dynamic role he had occupied in his family.

Cameroun: self-deluding



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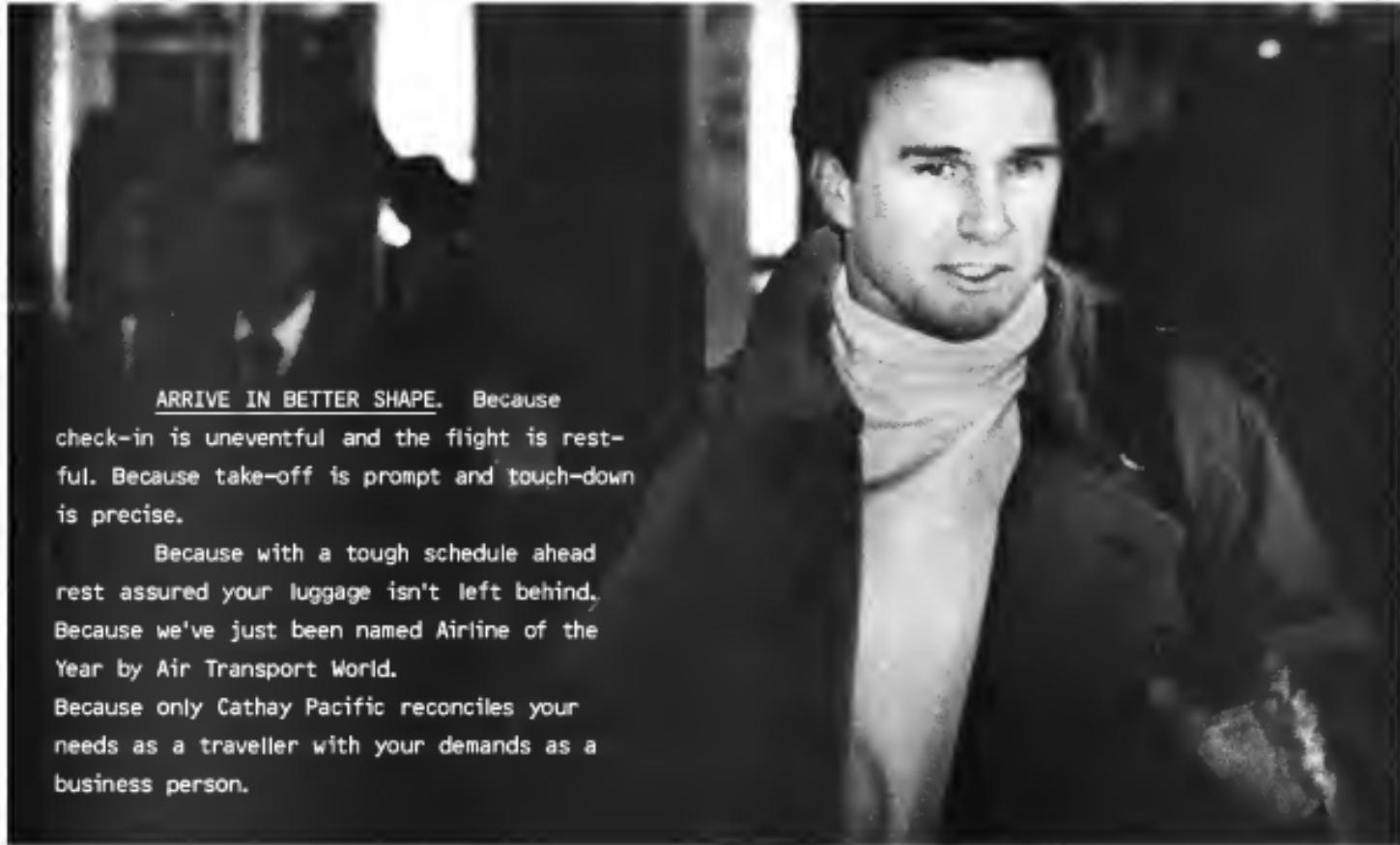
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BOOKS

ly. Indeed, as Western adults, trying to come to terms with what he calls the "loss" of his father was the primary motivation behind his own desire to become a psychiatrist.

This loss also fuelled a strong desire for justice, and he describes his involvement in the lengthy and frustrating CIA torture case as being a major part of his work. Western considers what he terms "a secret agency gone crazy," and both the U.S. and Canadian governments for hiding "behind secrecy and the legal system." At the same time, he can only point out that the book is not an indictment of his predecessor but "of our psychiatrists." Mr. Western sees that many of Cameron's colleagues abandoned or compromised his methods. Others, who were skeptical, had to be won over to their concerns.

Although occasionally verging on melodrama, Western writes movingly of the impact his father's emotional destruction has had on him. But by refusing to be more critical of his professor's complexity, he seriously wastes an otherwise compelling case against Cameron, whom he describes as a man whose "monetary and rapidly slid into a process of dehumanizing the very patients that he was trying to save."

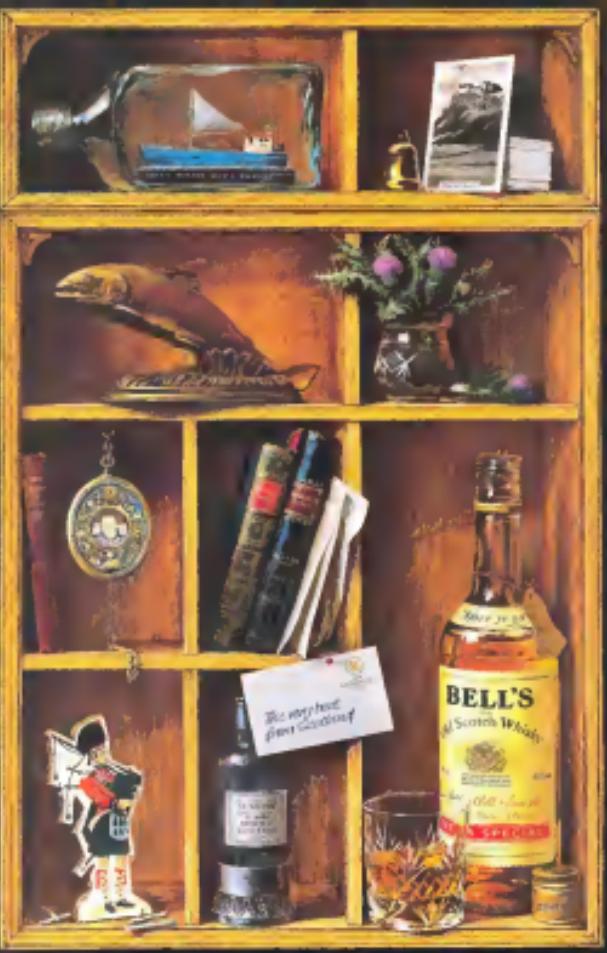
In Journey Into Madness, Gordon Thomas writes that Ross Cameron is not an isolated example of a doctor who betrayed medical ethics. A veteran British journalist, Thomas points out to be sparingly investigating study that the complexity of doctors in torture extends far back as the Roman Empire and, in recent times, includes the experiments of German and Japanese scientists during the Second World War. He makes the provocative but well-documented argument that Cameron's work has found its logical extension in present-day political interrogations and torture. In more than 90 nations around the world—such as Iran, the Soviet Union, Lebanon and countries in Latin America—certainly readily train expatriate government and internal organizations in their techniques with political dissidents and insurgents. They offer their expertise in various ways, by maintaining victims on a regimen of dehydrating drugs, by supervising their torture and by identifying official post-custody reports to designate the reason for their deaths.

Thomas's most disturbing example recounts the painful ordeal of his agent, Wilson Buckley, at the hands of one of the most notorious practitioners of medical torture, Dr. Abu Alrub. Buckley was captured in 1984 by mem-

bers of Hezbollah, an Iranian-backed Shiite Muslim terrorist organization operating in Lebanon, and despite all his years as a medical doctor he died horrifically of the 144 days before he died. One of the last words of his ordeal, written there, was the fact that, full of accusations against the CIA, "She reveals us as in need for heretic retribution." She reveals a steady stream of torture and directed bright talent to the Altar. He was also capable of causing or breaking bones with a phone call. Indeed, his power was so absolute that most viewed him with a mixture of awe and fear—including those patients who insisted that his treatment had made them better.

Although Thomas never calls Cameron a diabolical torturer, he details both his Unflavored experiments and other treatments, including lobotomy like other psychotropics in the 1940s and 1950s. Cameron performed lobotomies—a form of psychotherapy that removed parts of their brains and destroyed part of their brains. Thomas

and although Cameron was motivated by the desire to save unhappy lives (and a modis



David and Val Ulrichow, who launched a suit against the CIA for funding Cameron's experiments

ac's harrowing view of Cameron as nothing but a torturing lobotomy virtuoso with a "smoking, just trust me, issue," an eerie portrait of an ascent spiraling ever up since made up, in Thomas's words, of "the living dead."

Josephine K. Wulmer also offers a useful account of the complex political functioning of Lebanon and strategic geopolitics, says U.S. global intelligence operations. That in the end, these diplomats fail to connect directly with Thomas's "doctors of torture," these enforcement more to exportation than ownership that to human ascent.

Coffey ends falling into that trap. The focus of her book is narrower than Thomas's but wider than Western's. Perception and belief it strikes a delicate balance between the subjective limitations of A Father, a Son and the CIA and some of the eminent practitioners

she awarded a Nobel Prize for doing so. Coffey writes that Cameron's research and raise some questions blotted him from recognizing that his gifts did not fit in research. While Coffey "The trouble was that while Cameron's thinking an ascension was irreparable in the shorted, was too dangerous to be paid in practice."

Coffey says that Cameron was not a mad scientist that would-be Prometheus bound by what she calls the "great iron" myth of scientific progress and the naive expectations of his age. That his patients were victimized by a man whose human gifts were corrupted by misguided motives only heightens their tragedy—and his. In the end, Cameron fell from grace because he would against his own medical practitioner's golden rule: "Do no harm."

MORRIS RITTS

The naked city

Timothy Findley goes home to Toronto

In the past, novelist Timothy Findley's imagination has ranged far afield. The author has set his novels in locations as diverse as the battlefields of France (The Plain), a castle in Switzerland (Fusuma Last Words), a seaside resort in Mauretania (The Trilogy of Land and Sea) and Nazi Berlin on the Rhine. In his new collection of short stories, Stones, he has returned to his own backyard to explore a world topographically greater but no less absorbing than the more exotic locales he has favored in the past. Findley, who lives on a farm outside Toronto, has set off but two of the nine stories in and around the city. Findley's Toronto is the archetypal of the world-class metropolis promoted by the tourist board. Its central attractions (and the banally beautiful CN Tower, but rather the Queen Street Mental Health Centre) with all its neighborhood conveniences are not the smoothly functioning creatures they would like to be, but dresswalkers treading dangerously close to madness.

In stories as elegant and polished as cut

glass, Findley sympathetically chronicles the crude underside of characters who range from businesswoman to ex-psychiatrist patients. One of them, Morris Kotter, a writer who figures in the first two stories, closely resembles the author in his compassion for the tortured psyches of those toward whom he is as affronted here as Rosalie, the suffused with rage Bloosom Street resident who suffers a nervous breakdown and is committed to an institution by a mother who hates her. Writes Findley: "Quaintly, with dignity and calm, she lay beneath the surface of her tranquillizers, pushing the knowledge of all the containing mothers in the world—and all the sentimental, reflected fibbers—out to sea across all the obedient, deadly clusters."

After her release, Morris moves to Parkdale, a neighbourhood that is home to the Queen Street Mental Health Centre and that is populated by losers—and in some cases future-imbeciles. She takes a job as a waitress in a cafe on Queen Street, from which she can observe the Mental Health Centre. She explains that she has two reasons. The first is to watch the inhabitants. "You never know my fate," she

says to one of her park-bench friends, "what they'll do to you before you break." The second is to shock her mother, who the hags might "visit by one day and father cast-off, screwing-up daughter working behind the counter at the Montreal Café—dead dead of shock and despair at the constant reminder of her previous."

Like Findley, Joyce champions the disengaged and attacks the smug representativeness of the society in which she was raised. She manages to keep one step ahead of her demons by becoming a writer, in that way giving voice to the anguish she experiences within and around her. But other characters are lured into the silence that Findley portrays as the deadliest enemy of all. In the story Frost, an eccentric scholar on the verge of a nervous breakdown walks along Bloor Street on a snowy morning to it through a procession of the dead. The sound of traffic is evenly snuffed by the snow, and the faces of the shoppers are impotent, and lifeless. Writes Findley: "They moved. Morris caught—going at them through the falling snow—with the kind of agony acquired by those whose something—whatever—has taught them nothing waits for those who carry home."

In another harrowing story, Divorce, a couple who are both psychologists dealing with reluctantly withdrawn patients confront the limits of their scientific wisdom. Findley conveys the bleakness of their overly refined, workaholic lives in a chillingly compact description of daybreak in their apartment tower,



Findley: stories attacking the comfortable certainties of modern urban life

which is dominated by the tall Manulife Centre across the street. "The shadow of the Manulife would crease across the bedroom floor and shade the wall beyond her, grey web fatigue and cold," he writes. Unable to communicate to their parents or to each other, they are in the end engulfed by quietude.

In a less grimacing vein, Findley takes pleasure in removing the sole underpinning from the lives of middle-class characters and watching them squirm. In Almayer's Mother, a cold, hypocritical woman takes for son and daughter-in-law, when she privately detests, the members' lounge of the Royal Ontario Muse-

um for lunch. "Mrs. Almayer believed the flag of Baudelaire had to be waved periodically in other people's lives; otherwise, the world was bound to talk," writes Findley. Almayer takes her greatest pleasure in creating a family atmosphere—especially in a highly unsympathetic location. She is incapable of deep love for her and when she coaches the chapter in a few brief lessons that left her so emotionally paralysed, she loses her bearing completely.

In the oddly banal tale The Slip, a paranoid stockbroker who suspiciously sits of infinite ages suddenly breaks during a Toronto Symphony concert at Bay Street Theatre. His expression turns agonized, then shatters in a fit of falling objects, and he runs from the concert hall in mid-performance because of a panicattack that the roof is about to collapse afterward, as he relentlessly contorts places his disintegrating sanity, he wails. "All he could think of was how many big bolts might have to fall before it all let go," writes Findley.

In these engrossing expertly elicited stories, Findley lays down his own thunderbolts on the comfortable certainties of modern urban life. He leaves an insolent mark on a Toronto landscape that will never seem quite so solid again.

GILLIAN MCKAY

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No pot of gold

A new book attacks corporate concentration

WRONG END OF THE RAINBOW THE COLLAPSE OF FREE ENTERPRISE IN CANADA

By Eric Kierans and Walter Stewart
 (McGraw-Hill, 1982) \$25.95

The release of *Wrong End of the Rainbow*, a scathing attack on corporate concentration, was almost preordained. In recent months, listeners in the United States have reached record levels, and last week, two New York City-based firms—Philip Morris Cos. Inc. and Kraft Inc., exchanged a \$3.2-billion agreement—the second-largest takeover ever. At the same time, Wall Street's stock-based speculation—the concentration houses that finance much of the action with high-interest bonds—are bracing for at least \$10.2 billion in new transactions. But authors Eric Kierans and Walter Stewart contend that the buy-out artists, the bright young stars of high commerce in the 1980s, are actually destroying the free-enterprise system. They argue that as the separators, the modern corporations are nothing more than "a bunch of artists, cause marketing for its sole and results' value than in a going concern capable of producing goods and services and capable of enhancing the comment's strength of living."

Kierans, an economist and former U.S. finance minister, and Stewart, author of 14 books and a former managing editor of *McKinsey*, say that the takeovers are the cutting edge of the modern corporation. In their view, the authors argue, they are leaving two main problems: corporate power is becoming more concentrated in the hands of a few executives, while multinational corporations grow more powerful than governments. Huge international companies, Kierans and Stewart contend, now operate largely outside of government control, and popular political pressure holds that what a good for the majority may be good for everyone.

In that climate, the authors say the wisdom of a free-trade agreement between Canada and the United States is suspect. Canadians would hurt, they say, because the agreement



Stewart, Kierans warning about takeover artists

would allow open Canada to the full

blast of American corporate power. Kierans and Stewart write: "This is a wise and dangerous corporate world, in which reuse is punished and growth rewarded. An entrepreneurial culture itself, it values risk and credibility in society, declares 'Believe me! that conclusion, the authors offer a fascinating history of the corporation. They make the case that as many large firms have grown larger and stronger with each generation of owners, they have taken control of

from the Wilhelmsburg meeting to their next conclusion that economic "convergence" finally makes it easier for U.S. expansion to dominate the Western economic alliance.

To limit increasing corporate power, the authors propose a 10-part strategy based primarily on the assumption that the tax system can be used to regulate concentrations and redistribute corporate wealth. They also argue that Canada should adopt a style of government similar to that of Sweden, where foreign investors and managers are more rigorously controlled, and they say that shareholders should get more control over firms.

While calling for more government control over the economy, the authors offer a plan for a "real free trade regime." They suggest that instead of jumping into the "American saddle," Canada should progressively lower its tariff and, instead, learn on a unilateral basis. This, they say, "will allow consumers access to goods at competitive prices and, once more, force our corporations to operate efficiently, otherwise perish." But, confounding, the authors do not acknowledge that Liberal administrations in Canada have been lowering tariffs progressively since the Second World War. And their argument about cheaper consumer prices and increased efficiency has been appropriated by the Conservative government to promote free trade.

In the final analysis, *Wrong End of the Rainbow* reads like a political tract that was penned in the early 1970s, when government intervention in business was a popular idea. But with commercial power growing steadily, Kierans and Stewart's views may yet be reverberated to control those vast corporations.

TOM FENWELL

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Eyes of Dagobert*, Damon (2)
- 2 *Cat's Eye*, Atwood (2)
- 3 *The Edge*, Proulx (2)
- 4 *The Cardinal of the Kremlin*, Clancy (2)
- 5 *Alexis*, Michener (2)
- 6 *All We Must Agree*, Kristeva (6)
- 7 *The House Agenda*, Ludlum (7)
- 8 *Zappa*, Stief (2)
- 9 *Kaka*, Soudah (9)
- 10 *Gender*, Lund

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Arctic Grail*, Berney (2)
- 2 *Range of Vision*, Biden (1)
- 3 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (2)
- 4 *Person in Time*, Brother and Sister (2)
- 5 *Re:Readiness: The Pursuit of Power*, Stoen (2)
- 6 *Spells of Power*, Sartoris (2)
- 7 *Canadian Living: Mainside Cookbook*, French (2)
- 8 *Entrepreneurship*, Pfeifer (2)
- 9 *Business of Windows*, Righton (2)
- 10 *The Lives of John Leacock*, Goldblatt (7)
- 11 *Pronto Justo*

Compiled by Bevler-McGregor

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The high emotion of free trade

BY ALLAN POTHERINGHAM

The decisive factor in John Turner's defeat in 1984 was the non-fiction section of the televised debate when he complained he had "the option" on those patronage appointments—so thought flushed across from Mulroney's face. The turning point in this campaign was also a revealing mark of consciousness among the smirking electorate eye of the observers. Mulroney's face was off on the defensive at that moment, temporarily confused, when he tried to parry an angry Turner with the remark that the free trade option would be exercised within six months. With this, he conceded his charge that Turner would "free up" the government of elected. How absurd, the voters demanded, as a government that is thinking even now of the complete batch of cancelling this great deal as its manifesto? That was the moment when the drama set in.

The problem the proponents of free trade have is that they are all numbers and figures, statistics and dollars, quotes and tariffs. They don't really understand their own country at all. If Canadians were really interested in trying to equal the American standard of living—dollar for dollar, crane rate for crane rate—they would have copied long ago for complete integration, say, with the 51st state. They didn't (and they won't) this time because they realize there is something more important than the mere numbers and figures that Brian Mulroney, brought up in a brevity-challenged environment with a brain-split mind, can and does.

Cohen Coolidge once said, "The chief business of the American people is business." But the business of Canada is not business. It is fighting off how to survive as an independent entity next to the richest and most powerful nation in the history of what passes for civilization. It has done a fair-to-middling job of this for 121 years, and now the bear cataracts in the They overthrew us west to throw in the chips and save down the border.

There is the silly analogy with the European Common Market and how it hasn't destroyed national identities. Aside from the fact that



these identities have been partitioned for centuries centuries and not 121 years, there is another small matter. There are 87 million people in Brazil, fifty-six million in France, forty-one million in West Germany, fifty-seven million in Italy—before you even start to count the junior partners. There is almost no one country can dominate. That has nothing to do with this coldchess scheme that would put a country that has the same population as California one bed with a giant of 200 million.

The banalized mind-set of the free trade boys charges that those of us who oppose the deal are arguing on emotional grounds. Right! For once they've got a right. If it weren't for emotion, there wouldn't be such an abysmal thing as Canada. The whole concept doesn't make sense. 25 million people crammed out in a narrow corridor over some 8,800 miles with a population density less than that of South Africa

to And with a northeast, larger than India, speckled by fewer people than attend a baseball game in Yankee Stadium.

Of course it's emotion that has kept this unlikely bundle of geography intact. The building of the CPR, when you think of it, was as emotional, during all of the inquisition to build a nation. Every morning, five days a week, there is an equivalent emotional building—Peter Gzowski's brilliant Monologue that brings emotion and pathos/mirth every late-night and car radio, a concept unique of the United States, where such a thing as a state broadcasting service is viewed as vaguely obscene, which of course it is.

Bertrand Frémont's original *Art of Happiness* was all emotion, quoting that Canada's reach was the world, contacted by telephone. If you want to read Pierre Berton's best book, forget the historical paginae—and the use when he took his kids back to his Yukon roots and delved down the river on a raft. If you want Peter Newman's best, forget the meaning of the Establishment's toys and go to his Blue Country, but leave just as Canada arrived from Czechoslovakia. Or read Bruce Macdonald's new book, *A Life in Country Is Country*, with Louis and Sonja Moenborg, an 87-year-old man a pensioner off with his wooden oil lamp on Vancouver Island. All emotion. All according the best emotion in Berton's writing house, would't understand.

Turner, who has always struck an observer as more or less of himself, has lost a spark in his desperate attempt to finish his political career on a dramatic note—whether he defeat or victory. Data suggests the vital ingredient, apparent in the TV debate, was emotion, a admission fury that, whether faked or sincere, got Mulroney back on his heels.

Four years ago, it was the opposite, an apoplectic Mulroney promising Turner on the patronage issue. Mrs. blue-eyed John has the matraque—and the issue, Canadians are annoyed that they don't really understand the implications of free trade, because it is this issue that has been explained to them by a government that is vaguely informed of never including it in its 1984 platform.

Pot Carney is now out of it. John Crosbie's bluster and one-liners rather belittled it. Michael Wilson couldn't sell beer on a trike. Ed Broadbent seems suddenly old, has sobered from her heat. The surprising factor, the focal point, is that Turner is carrying the argument, in making the case. The acetone sprayer who has threatened around the stable is carrying it in the beam contexts.

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